NEW MASSES

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THE GI COMES HOME

by SAUL WELLMAN

THE BIG THREE'S 3 BIG QUESTIONS:

HOW LONG WILL FRANCO STAY?

by DAVID McKELVY WHITE

TORY TERROR IN GREECE

by KOSTAS KARAYORGHIS

FUTURE OF GERMAN CARTELISTS

by VIRGINIA GARDNER

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE: What's Wrong With Theater? by Margaret Webster; Why the India Conference Broke Up, by Kumar Goshal.

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BETWEEN OURSELVES

WE WERE foolish to think that even in a period specifically marked off as a vacation we could get away from politics. We had got ourselves a round trip ticket on a river boat that serves as the main link between Washington, D. C. and Norfolk, Va., thinking that the breezes from the brackish Potomac would be salt enough to take the edge off our longing for a real sea voyage, and that standing at a ship's rail looking at the far off green banks with nothing in the world to do but that would soothe the harried mind. But we hadn't been standing at that rail five minutes, studying intently the churning water below that we were aware of a great hulk beside us. It was an ex-mess sergeant, uncomfortable in his first day of civilian clothes. He had been in Algiers, Italy, Normandy and straight the way in to Berlin. He still had a piece of shrapnel in his leg and had been one of the vets lucky enough to greet Eisenhower at Bolling Field. He loved "Ike" as a great democrat. From there on we talked of GI's and the world's problems.

Norfolk was once a quiet port with more of a past than present. But the war and the great harbor of Hampton Roads changed that. We steamed past blackish vessels of strange sizes and shapes, bristling with guns and waving those strange radar grills high up the main mast (experts please note, we don't know any of the nautical terms for these things). A tiny landing craft breezed by, green and brown with camouflage. An immense carrier stripped of planes rode to one side of us, and a paint bright hospital ship, gleaming white with a red cross amidships and looking brand new, came close enough for us to wave at the sailors on board. Norfolk itself, which has been crammed to the bursting with Navy and Army activity, reminded us less of war than the great other tasks that face us. Virginia may not be the deep South, but it is South, and she carries with her the brand of the region. The impact of the Negro areas hit us full force with a grim reality. Miles and miles of streets of decaying wooden houses, front porches rotting off, sagging, uncertain stairs visible through the front doors, patched window panes—a morass of blackened bare boards over cracked plaster, outside privies that made one sickeningly aware of the size of the problem we have in making the USA a better place. And against this the long stretch of Virginia Beach dotted with beach umbrellas and pretty Navy wives sunning their pretty legs, sun-tan oil in hand. Whites only. And we were grateful to Comrade Duclos for jarring us back into a way of work which will be really effective in evening up the terrible discrepancies in the "American way of life."

OUR friends who came to NEW MASSES' memorial meeting for Romain Rolland in New York last May will remember a moving speech made by Etienette Gallois, a dark haired, bright-eyed journalist from Toulouse, France, that made us all feel a little closer to the great workers of the French Resistance. A few days ago we got a letter from Mme. Gallois, now back in Toulouse, with some comments on what she found when she returned. "As I expected," she writes (in English) "everyone is so busy with local problems, which are a perfect reduction of the big ones so long as France is a field for the efforts of the remaining fascists—that it is hard to turn their attention elsewhere. . . . De Gaulle is losing credit every day—except in the Syrian matter, on which he got full support except from those French who work for the British. It takes time to enlighten people. Never mind. We now have to build the country up. . . .

"The country entirely changed its face the day one million of our prisoners and deportees came back. It's strange but true. It happened like a snapshot. A few days after they came back there was peace in the country. Now it is really peacetime despite the formations training for the Far East. From this you can understand that our abcess was the concentration camps. That is what we suffered from without knowing well what it was. You remember my uneasiness in the States, my constant cares and unrest. You will probably know what the Communists have done in those camps and what organization and spirited fire kept them alive. One of our Jewish boys was in Mathausen with a 'plaster corset' [we're not quite sure what this is either, but we can imagine], and he came back. 'I owe my life to the Party,' said he, 'which has given me that confidence, that will to live, and bound me to the others so strongly.' Most of them are back. I am proud of them." V. S.

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WHAT THE BIG THREE FACE

By JOHN STUART

THE job facing this third meeting of the Big Three leaders surpasses anything they have attempted or agreed upon before. The largest objectives of their preceding meetings were essentially military, with additional political commitments of aid to the commanders in the field or in defining the objectives of the war in Europe. Crimea was a transitional conference. It coordinated the final phase in the destruction of Germany but it also explicitly foresaw an immediate ending of the war and the attendant problems of the first stages of the peace. And just as the Crimea decisions were of larger political significance than those reached at Teheran so does the meeting in the Berlin area grapple with a complex of even more significant issues whose resolution in effect spells the beginnings of Europe's future.

Some sense of that future is defined in the Charter of the United Nations Security Organization—one of the most important by-products of Yalta. But as Mr. Truman himself stressed at the closing session in San Francisco, it is only a beginning. Now the Allied triumvirate have the task of making the beginning lead to a settlement on the Continent that guarantees a durable peace. And unlike the past four years when the necessities of war by and large overrode private considerations, now differences of approach and attitude float on the surface for all to see. Underlying the differences is, of course, the central fact that two of the participants in the German meeting are imperialist powers while the third, the Soviet Union, is not. This is important to remember because it indicates some of the large obstacles hindering the solution of the German problem and the intense struggle that must be waged to maintain Allied unity. There was a muddied habit of thought, to which NEW MASSES in the past contributed, that led to the impression that the settlement of Germany would be primarily one of Germany versus the Grand Alliance and to overlooking the paramount point that in the final analysis it boiled down to the state of relations among the Big Three.

The German problem stands at the center of the European settlement.

There is, of course, nothing profound or new in that observation, but it is interesting to watch the diverse paths chosen by Moscow in its German zone as compared to those of London and Washington in theirs. The former de-Nazifies in a total sense while the latter two merely dilute. The USSR brings the main body of Germans into finding their redemption through democratic institutional and political processes while the United States and Great Britain blunder endlessly on the very negative assumption that the reestablishment of the trade union movement or of anti-fascist political parties is a sentimental and generous gift which victors should not offer. Nonsense, indeed. The Russians have not forgotten the rape and pillage of the Germans and their seeming generosity has little in common with sentimentality. Aside from pursuing the Stalin policy of the inviolability of nations, the Soviet occupation authorities are pressing for the cleansing of Germany through measures which involve Germans themselves. No one will ever undo Hitler's work by *diktat* or by such methods as those used by the AMG in Bavaria.

FIRST, then, on the agenda of the Big Three meeting is a coordinated policy of Allied occupation. Our representatives have lots to learn from the Russian approach. The Russians are using methods employed every day

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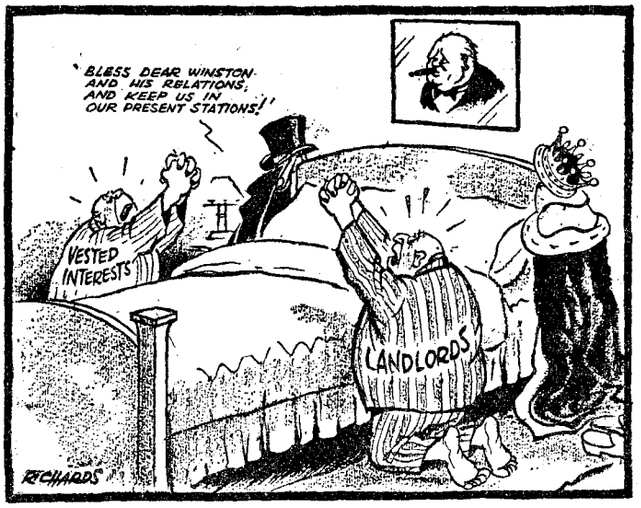

THREE WEEKS TO WAIT

Richards, in the London "Daily Worker," watches while Britain waits for results in the elections.

in Britain and in this country and they are completely consonant with bourgeois democratic practice. Those who fear this practice in Germany fear it in their own countries as well and its final result is that the fascist trickle is given a chance to become an active stream again.

Hand in hand with occupation policy is the economic. There are no lines of demarcation between the two and it is hardly surprising that just as the Americans are muddling through in Germany politically so are they at wits end as to what course to follow—if they will follow one at all—in destroying the German war potential, undermining the monopolies and cartels on which that potential rests, and destroying their ties with their British and American outlets.

Those who hold to the positive Baruch-Kilgore-Morgenthau conception of the economic settlement of Germany are meeting the heaviest resistance from the du Pont cartelists with their several supporters in the State Department especially in the person of Robert Murphy of Darlan fame. The White House is supposed to have issued directives on the problem but thus far they are unknown and the public is therefore in no position to judge them.

But a joint policy must be embarked upon at the meeting—a policy that not only seals the fate of Germany as an aggressive power but makes possible the industrial development of the surrounding countries and gives them guarantees that never again can they become such easy prey.

NO ONE will deny for a moment that this is a large and back-breaking task. For not only does it involve the transformation of the agrarian and backward economies of Southeastern Europe, but it means meeting all the immediately pressing problems of rehabilitation covering a vast area of economic life. Europe is in ruins. Cataloguing the extent of her hunger, the dislocations of her transport, the appalling damage done her factories and mines, the crippled condition of her peoples, hardly gives a picture of the scale of destruction. If the United States is to discharge her obligations toward Europe and thereby help herself in the postwar period, that will require a coordinated international trade and financial policy of liberal loans without strings attached, of a program untainted and untouched by those who would use American aid to destroy the flourishing democracies abroad. UNRRA seems to have attempted to run Tito's affairs in Yugoslavia by cutting down its shipments into that country. Fortunately Tito knows a thing or two about the Hoover food policy at the close of the last war and will not make the mistake of submitting to this reactionary alimentary weapon.

Another critical set of problems facing the leading Allies on which divergence has been greater than agreement are those dealing with the internal regimes of most of the European countries. The problems fall into two classifications: there are the governments of Greece and Spain, and those peoples governments which Mr. Churchill and kindred spirits here would convert into replicas of Athens and Madrid.

The British Tories have ever been the enemies of continental progress and their hostility is even greater today than it has been before. In Greece, through the present regime, as Kostas Karayorghis makes clear in his article in this issue, the British are preparing a political *place d'armes* for a general assault on the Balkans. While diplomatic necessity may prevent Tito from directly naming the British government as being finally responsible for the Greek raids into Yugoslavia's Macedonian Republic, that truth is obvious to anyone not blinded by the smoke from Churchill's cigar. The Greek government could not last out the hour if the support of the British were withdrawn from it and the Varkiza and Crimea agreements observed.

The Greek issue must be settled now and it must be settled alongside the Spanish. Our policy on Franco is reprehensible to say the least and, as David McKelvy White points out on page 7, it is nothing but a travesty on all the aims for which so many Americans have lost their lives. Americans can only be deeply ashamed that it is the Russians who must remind us repeatedly that Franco is no friend, while no important official voice is raised here against the Iberian fuehrer, his sidekick in Lisbon, and all their co-conspirators in the Vatican.

THESE are some of the major European issues before the Big Three. They can no longer be postponed by Mr. Byrnes and Mr. Truman. There is, also the issue of Italy, of Turkey and the Dardanelles, of Syria and Lebanon, of the whole Near East. The heaviest public fire may well be directed against the British government when it comes to adjusting the many difficulties in this part of the world. The reactionaries of Ankara, for example, are counting on British support to keep the Soviet Union from exercising her influence in arriving at a just policy in this semi-colonial area and to let a little of the fresh air of democracy blow through it. And by its failure to adopt a progressive attitude, the United States has in effect been endorsing the British position.

What the United States does in the Near and Middle East, just as what it does in its policy towards Germany, will be taken as a sign of what the people of the Pacific and the Japanese imperialists may expect. Nothing short of a coalition policy in every part of the globe can meet the realities of the day or create the conditions for a long peace. And the economic and political framework of that peace is the central obligation of the Potsdam meeting.

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TORY TERROR IN GREECE

By KOSTAS KARAYORGHIS

Kostas Karayorghis is the editor of the Greek Communist newspaper, "Rizospastis," published in Athens. He has been a leader of the Greek resistance movement, fought in many of its battles against the Germans, and was a correspondent for his paper at the San Francisco Conference.

THE nightmare of the Polish problem has been lifted from the new Europe and a path has been opened to the Polish people to settle their own problems through free elections. The reactionaries of both hemispheres who protected the insolent London Poles have, therefore, suffered a defeat of major importance. There remains now two other areas of the Continent where internal conditions are a source of contamination not only to their own peoples but to Europe as a whole—Spain and Greece. The case of Spain may be considered "natural," inasmuch as fascism there was fed by Hitler and Mussolini with the full cooperation of Great Britain and France during the days of "non-intervention." But such a fantastic regime as that imposed on my heroic country—a country that offered total national resistance—constitutes a reward unexpected and unprecedented in the records of the present democratic and anti-fascist Europe.

Greece was the first small country to resist. It fought for months, to the world's amazement, on the Albanian war front and during the Greco-Italian war, and if it finally yielded for the moment, it did so before the mechanized legions of Hitler. In courage and sacrifice the resistance of the Greek people has had a ten-fold meaning, if one remembers that it came after years of dictatorship during which the King and Metaxas had attempted to undermine the people's material and moral foundation. It was to be expected that leading military and political figures of the Metaxas regime would become the quislings of the Germans. And Greece has paid a heavy price for the triple occupation of the Germans, Italians and Bulgarians. About one million, out of a total population of eight million, perished from hunger, disease and execution. Fourteen hundred towns and villages were burned by the conquerors. That was the cost the Greek people paid in order to establish the broadest movement of national resistance on an all-nation, all-peoples scale. The resistance spread to every corner of the country. While it was passive in the beginning, it became active as the days went by and finally burst forth into armed struggle.

One characteristic of Greek resistance has been its mass quality. It has expressed itself in demonstrations, mobilizations of all kinds, strikes involving not only workers but also professionals, scientists, intellectuals and artists. These activities had a national revolutionary significance.

Another characteristic of the Greek resistance movement has been the very large participation in it of women. It was not merely a passive participation but one that was full, active and even armed. Women in the EAM, the resistance movement, numbered 500,000. Of the National Organization of Youth, part of the resistance forces, forty-five percent were girls. The participation of Greek women in the resistance struggle is a brilliant epic and many pages of this epic are written in blood.

In addition to a vigorous guerrilla movement in the mountains—a movement which in the last months of the occupation found 70,000 armed men in the ELAS, 12,500 in the National Citizens' Guard and twice as many semi-armed reserve formations throughout the country—a regular military movement of resistance developed within the cities and primarily in Athens and Piraeus. Whole battles were fought, especially in 1944, in the streets and squares of these two areas. Whole city blocks were defended against the Germans and the quislings inch by inch, and freed. Hundreds of resistance fighters died in the battles of the Athens streets.

George.

It is well known that four-fifths of the country was liberated as early as 1942-43 by the guerrilla forces. In these liberated provinces there was established a Free Greek regime through democratic elections in which men and women from eighteen years of age and up voted—a regime with full state functions, administrative, judicial, educational and religious. This Free Greece was governed by the Provisional Government of the Mountains, the National Council of the Hellenes, and a provisional Chamber of Deputies elected by 1,800,000 Greeks not only in the liberated areas but in the enslaved areas as well.

The fact is that by the autumn of 1944 Greece had been liberated by our forces. The appearance of the Russians in the Balkans and the Anglo-American air attacks made the continued occupation of the Germans in Greece difficult, but the general attacks of the guerrillas forced them to flee sooner than they planned and instead of burning and pillaging and killing as they customarily did when they retreated terrific damage was inflicted upon them.

The British armies did not engage the enemy in a single battle. The British landed days after the Germans fled. And an American correspondent graphically described that British landing in Piraeus as "touristic."

THE Greek people naturally expected to attain, together with their national liberation, political liberation. Yet just the opposite has happened. Greece today is experiencing merely a new phase of the political conditions which prevailed during the Metaxas and the occupationist regimes.

In the last year of occupation and in the first weeks after liberation, the

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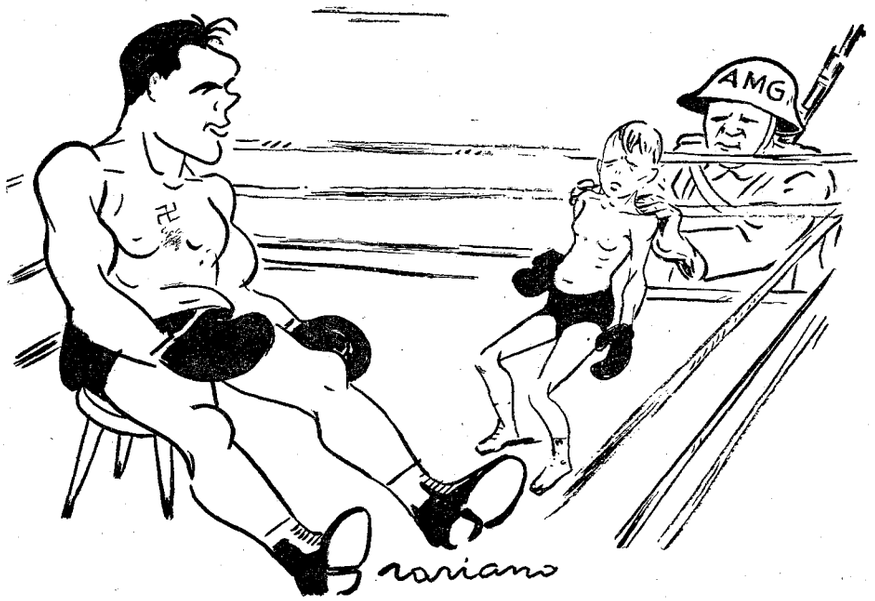

News Item: Max Schmeling to reeducate German youth, by arrangement with AMG.

political evolution of Greece was moving in the same direction as that of most other European countries. The determination of the EAM to solve internal problems and the question of government through the people and only through the people led to its conciliatory attitude and the formation of the Government of National Unity and the self-dissolution of the Provisional Government of the Mountains.

The Government of National Unity was led by an unreliable political figure, an abject servant of the British Tories —George Papandreou. Nevertheless, it represented all political parties and it could have paved the way to early, free elections. Indeed, the situation was moving in that direction when the National Unity Government arrived in Athens after the liberation of Greece. But as in Belgium, in Italy, and previously in Yugoslavia and in Poland, the Greek people ran into the terrible and arbitrary obstacle of the British Tories. And in Greece the British were more cynical and irreconcilable than in any other country.

What would be more reasonable than for the British command to accept the offer of the ELAS, the EAM's fighting arm, to continue—after the liberation of Greece proper—to fight against the Germans in Crete, the Dodecanese, and Milos Island; to continue the struggle on the Italian and Yugoslav fronts until the end of the war? Yet the British High Command not only rejected this offer but demanded, together with the Greek reactionaries, the dissolution of the ELAS. The EAM, hoping to clear the way to a free plebiscite without internal disturbances, accepted the dissolution under the condition that all voluntary units of the praetorian Royal Guards, which were formed abroad, also be dissolved. Papandreou himself and the whole Government of National Unity agreed to this dissolution—but General Scobie disagreed. He demanded, in the form of an ultimatum, the dissolution of the ELAS—without the dissolution of the Royal Guards. It was also demanded by the British that Papandreou stay in power, in spite of his resignation.

It is not the fault of the Greek people that the British Tories decided so lightly to write in the streets of indomitable Athens the most disgraceful page of British military history. The Greek people were obliged to perform their bitter duty against such "allies." Sometime the incomparable epic of the thirty-three-day struggle of the Athenian people and the six-week struggle of the whole people of Greece against British arbitrariness will be written in detail. In the whole history of people's struggle there is no example of such battle, fought by an ill-armed and hungry people against three divisions with scores of airplanes, heavy artillery and naval support.

BRITISH intervention in December had no relation whatever to military honor. But the regime established by the English in Greece after December had also no relation whatever to political honor. The Varkiza agreement, the signing of which was so necessary to the EAM as well as to the British, could have constituted a point of departure for a normal political life in Greece. But that agreement, which has been fully observed by the EAM, has been for the Greek reactionaries and the British Tories, who maintain them in power, nothing but a mask.

The whole movement of national resistance is under persecution. The pretext used is that of "moral responsibility" for alleged criminal offenses. In this way the British and Greek reactionaries drove from the University of Athens the President of the Provisional Government of the Mountains, Professor Svolos. Under this pretext six bishops belonging to the EAM are being persecuted. In this way 30,000 persons have been arrested, of whom 15,000 are still in prison. Thus chauvinistic and fascist persecutions have been initiated against the Macedonian Slavs, who were compelled to find asylum in Yugoslav territory. Thus began the fantastic campaign against all northern neighbors of Greece for territory—but not against Britain, which holds the Greek island of Cyprus; and not against reactionary Turkey, which holds eastern Thrace.

But such a situation as that prevailing in Greece is in full contradiction to the whole political and moral basis of the war as crystallized in the Atlantic Charter and in the decisions of the Moscow and Teheran conferences. It is, above all, in contradiction to the spirit and the letter of Crimea, which demands categorically *democratic and anti-fascist* provisional governments for every European country, that all peoples may have the freedom to choose their governments through really free elections.

It is absolutely inconceivable that there can be any serious discussion of moral principles of this terrible war which has just ended in Europe and continues in Asia, which has cost and is costing fantastic sacrifices in human blood, without the Greek problem being solved in the way that the Polish and Yugoslav problems were solved. The meeting of the Big Three in Germany cannot have any meaning and cannot bring deeper harmony with the Atlantic Charter if it does not solve any pending situation which was left over from the conference of Crimea. Such a crying and painful question is, above all others, the Greek problem. Of course, there is fear that Mr. Winston Churchill may be "ashamed" to put the question before the conference (if he survives the British elections), but neither President Truman nor Marshal Stalin have any reason to be ashamed.

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HOW LONG WILL FRANCO STAY?

By DAVID McKELVY WHITE

"The liberation of Spain from the yoke of the fascist reactionaries is not the private affair of the Spaniards, but is the common cause of all advanced and progressive mankind." Joseph Stalin—Oct 16, 1936.

THE correctness of Stalin's early judgment of the issues at stake in Spain has by now been established beyond any possible question. The world has paid in mountains of gold, in millions of lives, in literally countless and untold suffering for the betrayal of the Spanish people.

Spain was the last warning before the deluge, the last opportunity to escape the blood-bath through which we are yet struggling. We did not heed the warning; we did not seize the opportunity. Instead, we continued, we still continue to ignore the most elementary and basic lessons of Spain. In the nine terrible years that have passed since the Spanish people first rose in armed defense of their freedom and independence, we have still not learned to distinguish between our friends and our enemies. And until this simple lesson is learned and our policy is adjusted accordingly, we shall continue to pay and pay heavily.

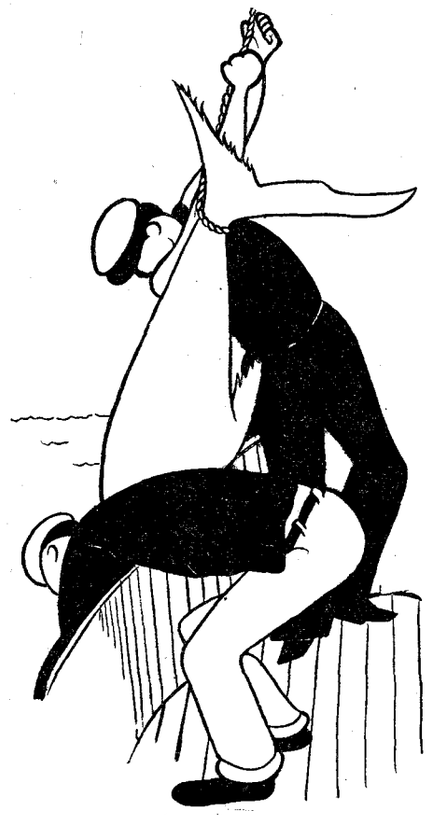
It is a simple lesson because with every day throughout these nine years it has become clearer that Franco is a fascist and that his Falangist regime is a fascist regime. With every day it has become more obvious that Franco Spain always has been and remains today a determined enemy of our country, of everything we believe in and stand for.

All of this has become so obvious that no one any longer even bothers to deny it. Yet State Department policy toward Franco continues stubbornly to be one of outrageous and Munichite appeasement. What are the reasons for this strange state of affairs? Is the "excuse" that there is as yet no clearly-defined, democratic substitute for Franco?

This is a hedging sort of argument that one is often confronted with. And, indeed, all friends of Spain, all supporters of the total wiping out of fascism, look forward hopefully to the early coalescing of Spanish Republican forces around a government-in-exile led by Dr. Juan Negrin. But—most fortunately—we did not wait for similar guarantees with regard to the other Axis countries. And this is surely a shameful "excuse" for our continued support of the most important and dangerous fascist government surviving today in Europe.

Or is our policy to be explained by sheer neglect of attention to the question? Partly so, no doubt. Our energies have been largely absorbed by other problems, problems that seemed more pressing, more immediately important. Yet the Spanish question has never been dead in this country and, other things being equal, the steady pressure of even limited groups and forces would by now have had some effect on our policy.

Has Franco, then, strong support in the United States? Certainly he has, even though this support is no longer so open as it once was. Powerful circles, working in and through the State Department, have no more affection for democracy in Spain than in Greece, Italy, Belgium or anywhere else, including the United States. But these forces represent only a tiny minority in our country. Far more than their number is already represented in the steadily continuing, the steadily increasing support given through the Spanish Refugee Appeal of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee to the suffering Spanish exiles in France and Mexico and throughout the world.



Now that the Nazis have been overthrown (with the important exception of those who have found refuge in Spain and through Spain in Argentina), now that Europe's house is being put in order and the great task of political and economic reconstruction is under way, there can be no question that the problem of Falangist Spain presses for an immediate solution. The Veterans of the Lincoln Brigade and other groups and people vitally concerned with the Spanish question have always pointed to the impossible anomaly of a fascist Spain in a free Europe.

Furthermore, the action of the San Francisco Conference in barring Franco Spain from membership in the World Security Organization opens new vistas and possibilities for the anti-Franco struggle. The action taken there was unanimous and included the expressed agreement of our delegation. It was not only world opinion, it was also American opinion that forced the reluctant hand of our State Department. Continued American recognition of a regime publicly branded as fascist by all the United Nations is no longer defensible from any point of view.

ALL things point, therefore, to a broad and energetic campaign for an honest and democratic policy toward Spain. On July 3, Congressman John Coffee introduced a new resolution (HR-312) in the House of Representatives. This resolution, calling for "immediately breaking all diplomatic and commercial relations with the present fascist government of Spain," must be the focal point of this campaign. And the logical organization to sponsor and organize the campaign is the American Committee for Spanish Freedom, whose chairman is Bishop Lewis O. Hartman of Boston.

The offices of the American Committee for Spanish Freedom are in New York, at 55 West 42nd Street, but chapters are also being built in other cities, one having recently been organized in Chicago. The American Committee has embarked on a nation-wide petition drive for a million signatures in support of the Coffee resolution and is planning other activities directed to-

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ward securing the passage of HR-312 at the fall session of Congress.

Those who worked hard in 1937 and 1938 to secure the lifting of the embargo on arms to Republican Spain will find today a quite different attitude on the part of the American people. Life has exploded many of the old lies that frightened people and blocked our success in those days. The press is no longer almost solidly against us, as it was then. Fascism is no longer such a foreign word, such an unfamiliar and unbelievable concept. An America that still shudders from the disclosures of Buchenwald and the other Nazi torture camps will no longer be so inclined to shrug off detailed reports of the terror in Spain and the Nazi-Falangist crimes against over 200,000 political prisoners there.

Nine years is a very long time. Nine years of struggle and torture and suffering is a very lifetime. Yet the vast heroism of 1936-1939 the Spanish people have equaled and surpassed in their ever-fresh courage and determination in the years since then. Deserted and alone, they remain devoted to their democratic principles.

When, in 1936, La Pasionaria called on the people of Madrid to make their city the tomb of fascism, she knew that if they did not succeed, if the drugged western democracies did not awake and help them succeed, a grim and bitter world war was inevitable. Though world war came, she knows and we know that the great sacrifices of the Spanish people were not in vain. Paul Robeson once invited us to speculate on where we would be today but for the long and fierce resistance of the Spanish people, without the truths that Spain taught to millions of people, without this epic sacrifice play of Spain, holding off the outbreak of world war for three precious years. And now, after all the suffering of these last years, and surely in a quite different sense and sequence than Pasionaria intended it, it appears that Madrid may yet become precisely the tomb of fascism, with the final death blow not unfittingly administered in that historic city.

Our response to Spain as the conscience of the modern world, our pledge to our dead and to the dead of all the United Nations, our most elementary concern for our own future welfare and security, alike dictate that through the Potsdam Conference we recognize and assume our heavy responsibility for the resurgence, long before the tenth anniversary of July 18, of a free and democratic Spain.

WHY THE INDIA CONFERENCE FAILED

By KUMAR GOSHAL

On June 14, 1945 the British government issued a White Paper offering India what the Churchill cabinet obviously considered another dose of self-government. According to the White Paper, the government was willing to reshuffle the Viceroy's Executive Council so that, with the exception of the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief, the rest of the members will be Indians. The Viceroy was authorized to "call into conference a number of leading Indian politicians who are heads of the most important parties or who have had recent experience as prime ministers of the provinces, together with a few others of special experience and authority."

From the lists of names submitted by those attending the conference, the Viceroy was empowered to select, if he so wished, his council members "in proportions which would give a balanced representation of the main communities, including equal proportions of Moslems and caste Hindus." These Indian members would be given most of the important portfolios. The White Paper was scrupulous to add that "nothing contained in any of these proposals will affect the relations of the Crown with the Indian States." As for the future, the British government reasserted its determination to stand by the Cripps offer of 1942. The Viceroy's choice of council members was made conditional on "that they would wholeheartedly cooperate in supporting and carrying through the war against Japan to its victorious conclusion." This was a bit of typically gratuitous insult thrown in to perpetuate the myth that the Congress Party leaders were imprisoned in August 1942, for their "pro-Japanese" activities.

Before proceeding with an analysis of this offer, an interesting and rather disturbing fact should be noted. Immediately upon publication of the White Paper there was still, at this late date, the customary unenlightened reaction in the American press generally. The offer was accepted by newspaper pundits at its face value. No one bothered to figure out if it were possible, under present circumstances, for the British government to make a genuine offer of even a measure of self-government to India. No one bothered to ask if it were conceivable that the British government—which has been supporting the most reactionary elements in Poland, Italy, Greece, Belgium, Spain and the Near and Middle East, to protect its Empire lifeline and to preserve and augment its economic interests—would voluntarily take a step toward the liquidation of its Indian empire.

Instead of showing some skepticism with regard to the genuineness of the offer, the burden of proof was put on the shoulders of the Indians. Speculation ran high as to whether the Hindus and Moslems could get together and what Gandhi's reaction to the offer would be. The gentlemen of the press failed to observe that there is no Hindu-Moslem problem nor pacifists like Gandhi in Burma, Ceylon and Hongkong; yet the British government has shown no inclination to part with these colonies.

From the standpoint of the Indians, what does the offer amount to? It is *not* an advance over any previous offer. In essence the White Paper repeats the offer made in August 1940, and is almost a duplicate of the one contained in the Cripps proposals of 1942. It is not the provisional national government, representative of the people, which the Indians have been long demanding. It would merely transfer *portfolios*, but no real power, to the Indian members of the council. The council would remain an advisory body, meet infrequently, and would be responsible only to the Viceroy. The Viceroy would retain his power to veto even a unanimous decision of the council, as well as his right to enact measures unanimously opposed by the council or any other governmental body. Despite the appearance of a few more Indian faces in the halls of the government, supreme power over all

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issues affecting British political and economic interests in India would remain firmly in the hands of the Viceroy and the British provincial governors.

The present offer followed the shrewd pattern set in previous offers—that of dividing the people of India on a religious basis. Consider the fact that the Viceroy was to choose five caste Hindus and five Moslem members for the council. Now, the only political parties invited to confer with the Viceroy were the Congress Party and the Moslem League. Both of them were immediately faced with a dilemma. If the Moslem League agreed to let the Viceroy choose even one Moslem member from the panel submitted by the Congress Party, then the League would no longer be able to maintain that it alone represents all the Moslems of India. If the Congress Party, which is non-religious in character and has many Moslem followers, agreed to nominate only caste Hindus, it would necessarily lose many of its Moslem, Christian, Sikh, Untouchable and other members, and thereby suffer a serious setback as a political organization. Thus, by putting the proportion of representation on a religious rather than on the political party basis suggested by many Indian leaders, the British government effectively put the Congress Party and the League on the spot. The result is that Wavell has declared the conference a failure.

It is now up to the Viceroy, with whom the initiative has always rested anyway, to make the final decision. In the meantime, although the eight members of the Congress Working Committee, including Nehru and Azad, have been released after nearly three years' imprisonment without trial, at least 1,200 provincial leaders of the Congress still remain in jail, indicating that the government's fight against the Congress Party is by no means over.

Both from an immediate and a long-range point of view the British offer is a fraud. The famine of 1943-44, which took a toll of over 5,000,000 lives, has only partially abated. As an immediate program of relief—and to transform the Indians into effective fighters against Japan—India needs coordinated and vastly increased food and medical relief projects, a moratorium on peasants' debts, distribution of idle land to unemployed farmers and extension of cheap credit to them, wage increases for workers, the curtailing of the power of the government-supported landlords and the loan sharks, reduction of land rent, giving a national character to the present mercenary Indian army, and other such constructive measures. It is preposterous to expect that the British government, which has done very little to bring relief to the Indian people, would agree to abide by the decisions of even the most representative council that might be set up. Immediate relief for India requires taking drastic steps against the most reactionary forces in India, who are the allies of the British government; it is hardly conceivable that the government that has been consistently supporting similar reactionary forces in other parts of the world would suddenly become progressive in India and alienate its only allies there because of a new Viceroy's Council.

"Bengal Famine," by the British artist Vicky.

For the postwar period, the British government's decision to stand by the Cripps proposals is no advance over the past. From a long-range point of view India needs industrialization on a gigantic scale, at a rapid tempo, founded on a thoroughgoing revision of the system of land tenure, and breaking of the feudalistic powers and privileges of the princes—as has been taking place in northern China and Poland, for example, and as has been outlined in the preliminary reports of the National Planning Committee of the Congress Party. The Cripps proposals would effectively prevent any such undertaking.

According to the Cripps plan, it will be recalled, the British government agreed to transfer power to an Indian government after the war, provided that all the political parties in India, all the minority groups, and the 500-odd Indian princes agreed to a constitutional form of government. Failing such an agreement, the dissenting province or provinces of British India would be permitted to remain outside the proposed Indian Union and form a separate Dominion or Dominions. Furthermore, the Indian princes could choose to retain their present treaty relations with the British Crown, if they so desired. This was the fantastic scheme offered to the Indians in the name of unity and impartiality.

The biggest joker in the Cripps proposals was the fact that the Indian princes would most certainly refuse to accept a democratic constitution and prefer to retain their treaties with Britain, which guarantees them British protection against internal rebellion. Even if all the provinces of British India joined an Indian Union, the existence of these hundreds of autocratic princes' states, scattered throughout the length and breadth of India, would make a politically workable federation of the two as well as a unified, planned modernization of Indian economy utterly impossible.

The present offer has been made because world conditions necessitated such a move on the part of the British government. The Churchill cabinet was not slow to realize that concentration on the war against Japan would bring India into the limelight again; India also would have to be used as a base of operations in the war in Asia. It was expected that the question of colonies would come up at the San Francisco conference and, as it happened, Soviet Foreign Commissar Molotov made pointed reference to India's peculiar status in the ranks of the United Nations. There was an election coming in Britain, and the Labor Party was bound to make some reference to the status of India. Some sort of gesture was necessary to conceal that all was not well in India under the best possible government. Nevertheless, there is some significance in the fact that, although the White Paper did not mention it, Viceroy Wavell is reported to have requested an increase in the number of British officers in the Indian Army, and he has also been assured full support of the British government in using the army to maintain law and order.

The British offer was of the "heads I win, tails you lose" kind. Even if it had been accepted by the Indians, it would have effectively protected British vested interests, and would have failed to fulfill the present and future needs of the people of India.

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FUTURE OF GERMAN CARTELISTS

By VIRGINIA GARDNER

Washington.

TUCKED away in a folder among the mass of exhibits introduced in the Kilgore War Mobilization Subcommittee hearing on Germany's war potential, I found some fascinating reading matter—neatly compiled biographies of Germany's forty-three war-guiltiest industrialists. Attached to each one is a list of the companies they controlled entirely or in part, and the relation of each company to others, what combine or cartels they were in. The list in some cases stretches to four and five pages of single-spaced typing.

It is particularly satisfying, as you read all their titles and posts and their passionate words defending and praising Hitler taken from papers or periodicals of other years, to realize that many of these magnates are now locked up. Most of them are confined in a little jail the Finance Division men found and appropriated for the purpose. All of the I. G. Farben people are believed to be here. A Treasury spokesman assured me, moreover, that so long as the Treasury economics staff was at Frankfort—the industrialists are *their* prisoners, although the Army is cooperating—the men are not going to be set free, or allowed to rest in palatial estates thereabouts.

This, however, was prior to the naming of a new Secretary of the Treasury, Fred Vinson, a conservative gentleman from Georgia, to replace Henry Morgenthau, Jr., a sincere anti-fascist who is more responsible than anyone else for the policy which has led to the seizure of the vast I. G. Farben combine's enterprises by the US Army, the ousting of German management and the proposed operation only of plants making non-war materials, and that by the US Army. Whether the entire "Morgenthau plan," incorporated in slightly modified form in a presidential directive which is still being held up, actually will get under way with Morgenthau out of the cabinet becomes an important question. It is the Foreign Funds Control Division of the Treasury which has been combing the available records of I. G. Farben and other giant trusts in Germany, interviewing industrialists and, to the latter's amazement, asking them all sorts of impudent questions. As Orvis Schmidt, director of the Foreign Funds Control, who flew back from Germany to testify before the Kilgore committee, said, "These industrialists take the general attitude that now the war is over, we ought to be assisting them to help get I. G. Farben back on its feet. Some have told our investigators that the investigation will be of short duration, because their friends in England and America will be over there before long and put a stop to it and help them get reestablished."

Assistant Secretary of the Treasury Josiah DuBois, a former chief counsel of the Foreign Funds Control, later assistant general counsel of the Treasury and, since its formation, assistant general counsel to the War Refugee Board, is now at work in Moscow as a member of the Reparations Commission. But the fate of the staff of experts working under Schmidt in Germany is a matter of serious concern now that wholesale replacements are reportedly under way in the Treasury. The future of the policy on removing Germany's war potential as a chief threat to world peace is also involved.

INTIMATELY connected with this is our policy toward war criminals. The biographies of the fabulously powerful forty who put Hitler in power, who aided him and in turn were aided by war orders, should be studied by every member of Congress and all Americans. They offer a potent antidote to any apathy toward these criminals. The attitude of these butcher-financiers themselves has been supremely self-confident. They openly count on help from their fellow cartel members and other sympathetic members of our own financial hierarchy.

Curt Riess, writing for the Scripps-Howard papers (Washington *Daily News*) under a Munich dateline, June 28, told of interviewing Mrs. Fritz Thyssen. "Mrs. Thyssen still carries the airs of a great lady," he reported. When he asked her, apropos of her arrest on the French Riviera in September of 1940, why the Thyssens hadn't left France earlier, Mrs. Thyssen replied, "The French government guaranteed we would be left alone." Riess wrote further of the interview: "She defends her husband, saying he had only the choice between having Communism in Germany or aiding Hitler. . . . She is absolutely certain that nothing will happen to Thyssen and intends to leave with him as soon as possible for Switzerland. Someone remarked that Switzerland wouldn't take Thyssen. She smiled. 'We have very good friends there.'"

Doubtless they do. Switzerland is concealing "the true picture of German financial and industrial penetration throughout the world," and "Swiss banks will continue to profit by protecting, through their secrecy laws, Germany's war potential—the hidden assets of its financiers and industrialists," Schmidt testified. Swiss banks have $500,000,000 to $600,000,000 in this country—broken up and numbered. The funds will be frozen until their true owners are revealed, or Switzerland formally declares them to be Swiss in fact (not German)—and she can be challenged to prove it if she does that.

Let us take the biography of Thyssen in the exhibit introduced by Schmidt. Thyssen and his wife are being "detained" in Italy. Whether they are actually locked up or are resting in some luxurious home couldn't be learned here. As with so many of these German magnates who contributed liberally to the coffers of the Nazi party, this former head of *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*, the German steel trust, betrays "a curious parallel" to his father, August Thyssen. In 1918 the father, through a "confession" to the Allies, persuaded them that the Kaiser's government was solely responsible for World War I, that the industrialists were penitent and had been *forced* into supporting his wicked imperialist schemes. Says the Treasury-prepared biography: "Apparently influenced by the recantations of August Thyssen and his associates, the credulous Allies made no effort to reform German industry after the last war. The result of this policy of omission was that men like Thyssen were allowed to retain their vast industrial fiefs and to pass them on intact to their heirs and successors, whom they had rigorously schooled in the tradition of war-making."

We may differ with the use of the word "credulous," but the parallel is vivid. The elder Thyssen, who died in 1926, was the foremost German steel baron. He defied the French during the

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occupation of the Ruhr in 1923, leading the coal producers in their strike against producing any coal. With Hugenburg, Kirdorf and the elder Krupp, he promoted the Pan-German League.

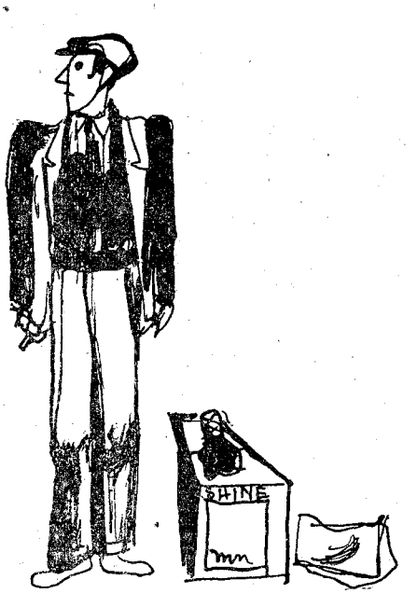
We come to his son, Fritz. He was no passive reactionary. He attended meetings of such groups as the Stahlhelm and then began meeting with Hermann Goering and others, publicly flirting with the Nazis. With the crash of 1931, he openly embraced Nazism. During the next two years Thyssen "dedicated his fortune and his influence to the single purpose of bringing Hitler to power." The now famous 1932 meeting at the Dusseldorf Industrialists Club, at which Hitler addressed a group of businessmen, is described; at the end Thyssen cried, "Heil, Herr Hitler," and others applauded, and Thyssen got them to cough up large sums for the coming presidential elections. He is said to have spent three million marks on the Nazis in 1932 alone. In January 1933, Thyssen, as go-between, arranged a secret meeting of Hitler, Von Papen and Hindenburg, and it was at this meeting the basis was laid for the appointment of Hitler as Reichschancellor. Thyssen said he viewed Hitler as the inspiration of "a new spirit of nationalism that is essentially healthy and necessary and serves as a bulwark against Communism."

In 1936 rifts between Hitler and Thyssen began to appear. He claims now that it was over Hitler's racial and religious discrimination. But as the material before the Kilgore committee points out, Thyssen never complained of it before, and it had been open to all in *Mein Kampf* since 1925. "Thyssen's open defiance of the Nazis was not provoked by this issue but by the signature of the German-Soviet non-aggression pact in 1939. He indicated that he would not countenance any strategy which even temporarily diverted Germany from her avowed mission of opposing the Soviet Union." After the war began in September 1939, he fled to Switzerland, announcing he was "still a German" but "no longer a Nazi." His holdings in the Reich were confiscated.

"Thyssen now commenced his efforts to win favor with the Allies," the biography continues. "In Paris, where he went in 1940, he released his 'confession,' which, like that of his father in 1918, was calculated to whitewash its writer of all blame for having plunged Germany into the holocaust." He offered his services and those of his fellow industrialists to effect a *rapprochement* with Germany. "Peace is to be had," he cooed. "The price is not high. It is easy to arrange. . . . We still have men who hold the reins." After the fall of France, he went to live in a villa at Cannes in the unoccupied zone. He tried to reach this country, and several times dickered over going to Argentina, "where he owned important agricultural and industrial enterprises around which he apparently hoped to rebuild his shattered empire."

In 1941 Vichy turned Thyssen and his wife over to the Gestapo, and thereafter contradictory reports appeared that they were living in luxury at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin under the protection of Goering, and that they were in a concentration camp. In May 1945, they turned up in a concentration camp in northern Italy, "still angling for a pardon from the Allies." Thyssen was remorseful, but said that Hitler "came under the influence of the bad men in his party." Moreover, he said, "I personally believe the German people are not ready for democracy."

Says the anonymous author of the biography: "Thyssen has offered a suggestion for the Allies to follow in their reconstruction of Germany. It is that the Rhineland should be made an independent state—'a nation like Holland and Belgium.'" This "has a familiar ring." After the last war Kurt von Schroeder, who is now under arrest, and Heinrich von Stein, the Cologne bankers, and others launched a Rhineland separatist movement, "for they saw in the creation of an independent Rhineland a means of emancipating the giant industries of Dusseldorf, Essen and Cologne from the strictions imposed by the Treaty of Versailles on the manufacture of war products within the borders of the Reich. Apparently Thyssen, the arch-foe of Versailles and the principal promoter of the Fuehrer, is already busy devising schemes to sabotage the peace now in the making."



HUGO STINNES provides a similar parallel with his father, the elder Hugo Stinnes, Germany's coal king, who died in 1924. The elder Stinnes had been a mainstay of the Kaiser in his imperialistic schemes and after 1918 was active in rallying German reaction for a second attempt to dominate the world. His sons took over—Hugo, Jr. in particular—and joined other industrialists in forming the Anti-Bolshevik League, maintaining close touch with their political stooges on such committees, giving huge sums to the Nazis and other organizations in 1920-23. In 1925 the sons provided the money for the weekly *Volkische Beobachter* to be made into a daily—a paper liberally quoted during the abortive trial of US seditionists.

Hugo Stinnes' interests are primarily concentrated in coal mines; he serves as chairman of the mining committee of four companies, and director of the Ruhrgas A. G. As sidelines he has interests in hotels, sea transportation and herring fisheries, oils and fats, glass works, tube and pipe works, wood-burning generators for automobiles, is a director in the *Steinkohlen-Elektrizitzt, A. G.*, an affiliate of Bergbau, Ewald-Konig Ludwig, which is affiliated with *Reichswerke A. G. fur Berg-und Huttenbeitriebe* (Herman Goering), etc.

Then, of course, there is Alfred Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach, or as we know him, Alfred Krupp, who was recently arrested. Born in 1907, he is the fifth generation of the giant German armaments outfit. His father, Dr. Gustav Krupp von, etc., was credited with having been largely responsible for bringing Hitler to power. Alfred has admitted to investigators that he joined the Nazi party in 1936 and was a colonel in the National *Flieger Korps*, but he is "still under investigation," it is noted. He is probably one of those who are sulking and waiting for their friends to arrive. A director of the Dresdner bank, he is also owner of Friedrich Krupp A. G., Essen.

Dr. Alfred Hugenberg, chairman of the board of Krupp Works during the other war, has been described elsewhere

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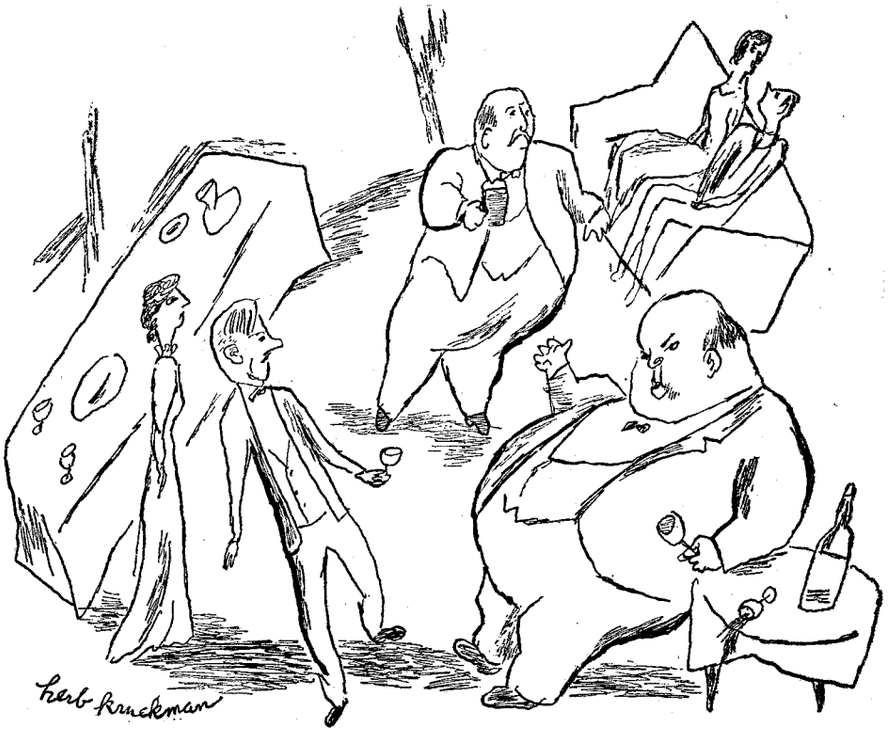
as "the giant shadow over Hitler," and "most dangerous man in Germany." Through his propaganda media, his publishing enterprises and films, he built up, with his representatives abroad, a worldwide espionage network for the military intelligence of the German general staff.

Under the interested questioning of Sen. Elbert Thomas (D., Utah), Schmidt had told how Hugenberg acquired the Westermann Book Shop in New York, as early as 1926, to serve as an outlet for German propaganda and a transmission center for vital military information to Germany. Hugenberg, a member of every Reichstag of the Republic since the first, actively supported Hitler and entered the cabinet in 1933. He is now eighty years old. He has maintained his association with the *Vereinigte Stahlwerke*, the UFA film company and publishing interests.

Dr. Hermann Schmitz, also among the catch of bigwigs, finance king of Germany's greatest corporation, *I. G. Farbenindustrie*, who is said to be almost entirely responsible for Farben's expansion into an enormous concern with tentacles all over the world, numbering a total of 710 companies, bears all the guilt of his fellow industrialists and more. For he was a member of the Reich's peace delegation in 1919. He learned much which in the thirties enabled him to teach the Nazis a great deal about economic penetration, cartel uses, synthetic materials for war, and in general how to capitalize on the devastation of one war to build up for a second. When the crisis of 1930 came, he neatly took advantage of it and united the explosives industries of ten European countries.

This flower of the German aristocracy remained president of the European Explosives Convention right up to the outbreak of war. So industrious was Schmitz that he even sent his own family into other countries to become naturalized citizens and penetrate for Hitler and I. G. His brother, Dietrich Schmitz, is a naturalized American and head of the American subsidiary to I. G. Farben, the General Aniline and Film Corp.

KURT VON SCHROEDER, Germany's outstanding private banker and partner of the Cologne banking house, J. H. Stein, in whose name the meeting of Hitler, von Papen and von Hindenberg, arranged by Thyssen, was held, gained tremendous industrial power under Hitler. He was not too fastidious to connive in various plots, and was reported as being instrumental in bringing Laval to power in Vichy. Neither was he too high and mighty to conceal a few practical items after the German surrender —the Allied authorities found a propaganda press in his Cologne home.



"So I said, what the hell—if I don't black market somebody else will."

Dr. Georg von Schnitzler, manager of one of the companies of I. G. Farben, is included. He it was who wrote to Dr. E. von der Heyde, on April 3, 1940, "This company is particularly well suited for the intended camouflaging maneuvers" (in a letter among several Schmidt introduced as exhibits showing I. G. Farben's services to the Wehrmacht Counter-Espionage Section), ". . . since the failure of one of its emissaries will never lead to a catastrophe; if worse comes to worst this company might have to cease operating in some particular country and would have to confine its activities to the other neutral countries." This was Schnitzler's reply to a request regarding the need for one trusted person to make contact with "confidential agents on individual trips abroad."

And when one Piekenbrock, a colonel of the Counter-Espionage Section I, Wehrmacht Supreme Command, wrote to him (March 15, 1933), it was as follows: "Dear Herr Dr. von Schnitzler, I would like to inform you that I am shortly leaving Berlin and my present office to take over a command at the front. I feel particularly urged to thank you for the valuable cooperation which you have extended to my office. I shall always retain pleasant memories of my personal and official collaboration with you.

"I should like to take this opportunity of asking you to give the same support to my successor, Lt. Col. Hansen. With many thanks and Heil Hitler, I remain, Your very devoted,

(signed) Piekenbrock."

And when von Schnitzler replied to this, he said he'd always considered it "a duty of honor to be always at your disposal for your special tasks," and ends: "With cordial regards and Heil Hitler, I remain, Your very devoted, v. Schnitzler."

Others under arrest are Johann August Von Knieriem, and the genius of the I. G. Farben Berlin bureau from which emanated all its espionage activities, Dr. Max Ilgner. The foreign minister of the Farben trust, nephew to the notorious Hermann Schmitz, and son-in-law of Dr. Karl Kuisburg, Ilgner, as head of the financial department of Farben, organized and developed its foreign markets and penetration into various other countries. He is a specialist in world patent and cartel agreements. Forty-six years old, he is "reportedly maniacal on the subject of German domination, and is regarded as one of the men who has already planned for Germany's postwar economy," an integral part of which is eventual world conquest.

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THE G. I. COMES HOME

By SAUL WELLMAN

I AM now for a second time taking up civilian life after having been wounded during the "Battle of the Bulge," with my honorable discharge four weeks old. I can't say that I mind it, but there is something overwhelming in once again resuming civilian existence.

Life in the Army has been rough, tough, highly exciting and most informative. The most important thing is, you *think* in the Army. For the most part the average soldier wants to finish the job, get away from danger, get out of the Army and *get home*. Since we Americans are a practical lot we know that we can only finally get home when Japan is unconditionally defeated. But then we all begin to think, "What are we returning to?" And that becomes a big topic at all latrine discussions.

For some of us going into the Army means leaving school, for most others leaving a job, the farm, our families. How will we be able to pick up where we left off? And how will our new ideas and greater maturity acquired during our years in the Army fit in? Now, while this war is being fought for great ideals, the average GI doesn't think of it that way or even consciously appreciate it. Yet when you begin to prod him and discuss things you find deep down, underneath, that he has some pretty high principles.

First, after this is over he wants *no more war*. He's had a bellyful of its hardship and brutality. He's been in the very middle of it and seen it at its worst. He has made the greatest sacrifice. And he will militantly fight against it when he gets out. What GI can forget how we discussed war at those frequent bull sessions? Some guys, when there is talk of a third world war, speak of going off to the hills of Kentucky, not registering for the draft, and saying, "Let them come and get me." Some speak of the big money being made and the money boys behind the war. And some are beginning to realize their tremendous potential strength—there are 14,000,000 of us—and the need to organize and make that strength felt. But how the veteran will fight it out and what forms he will use is an open question.

Second, he wants no regimentation or dictatorship. He didn't like the discipline of Army life. He took regimentation as a necessary evil, but griped aplenty.

Third, he wants no Buchenwalds, Dachaus or Stalags. He saw starved slaves, barbed wire, lime-destroyed bodies, crematoria, mass graves. He was met with wild, half-crazed joy by those he liberated.

Some GI's personally experienced Nazi brutality on their own bodies. Eighty thousand men were prisoners of the Germans. What humiliation they suffered at the hands of the Nazi sadists! They were starved, driven about and lived like dogs. (The Geneva Convention—what a laugh!) They were forced to march 700 to 900 miles in midwinter under inhuman conditions. Almost to a man they express a burning hatred for the Germans and the Nazis. Those experiences are indelibly imprinted on their minds and bodies.

The GI wants no more homeless, starved kids. No refugees clogging up roads, running away from the terrors of war. He wants no more of the destruction he saw in North Africa, Italy, France, Holland, Belgium, finally in Germany and now sees in the Pacific. He doesn't want any more of the horrible suffering the peoples of Europe went through under Hitler. He knows it because he saw it.

He doesn't want all this to happen to his own people and his own country. He deeply loves his country, and he wants to maintain it. Well . . . all these add up to pretty high ideals.

IF YOU are on your way home you do a little more thinking. You are soon to reenter civilian life. You take stock of things—what you want, what you expect.

You want to make up for time lost. You want to complete that interrupted education. You want your old job, or a better one; to go into business or to get that farm. You want a chance to marry and raise a family. Above all, you want again to live a normal life. But somehow these hopes are clouded by certain things. Things that are bothering you and are unclear in your mind.

The GI doesn't have too clear an estimate of our allies. (The generally good orientation material put out by the War Department hasn't got down to the rank and file soldier.) Early on he had a great respect for the German army. But since then, the Russians thoroughly and dramatically destroyed the Germans, and he now has a healthy respect and admiration for them and their Red Army.

But to respect and admire does not mean to appreciate and understand, to know why they will always be our best and most natural allies. He doesn't appreciate the difference between the great German army defeated and the mighty Red Army victorious. But with it all he's really worried about all this chatter of war against the Soviet Union. He just doesn't want another war.

But he has matured. He knows the geography of Russia—all soldiers are avid readers of maps and communiques. He's learned to pronounce Russian names. In *Stars and Stripes* and *Yank* he has read of the heroism of the Russian people and their Red Army. Some have seen and spoken to the Russian GI. Thousands of American prisoners were liberated by the Red Army. They saw the Russians tear down their barbed wire enclosures and burn their lice-infested barracks, the symbols of their humiliation. They were given a sort of super-priority to move about as they pleased, to eat when and where they wished, and do what they wanted. They were enthusiastically greeted by the Russians and know the rough, tough, and serious fighters they are. I remember what a buddy of mine who was liberated told me. They came up to him with big smiles on their faces, crushing his hand in greeting and slapping him on the back. And when they said, half questioning, "Amerikansky?" it was as though they were liberating a long-lost brother, someone they greatly admired and above all wanted to know more about. More important, they wanted to be intimate friends. The general feeling is that the Russian is a good Joe.

And long before Berlin fell, the GI generally hoped that the Russians would get there before us. Not so much that our blood would be spared, but that the Russians would take better care of the Germans and that they could be relied upon to do it. He wanted the Russians to try and judge the Nazis.

Add this all up, and the sum isn't too bad.

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On the debit side, however, is the American soldier's impression that labor has been waxing rich and has made hay during the war, that it is more worried about its own problems than those of the nation. Actions of irresponsible labor leaders haven't helped and the Army has succeeded in cutting him off from any real concept of civilian wartime problems. (As a civilian of four weeks I can report that the high cost of living has about bowled me over, and I've just learned that those "wealthy" seamen are getting thirty-four cents an hour.) The GI's big dream is still to get out of the Army into a soft lush job of $70 to $100 a week before the war is over. Remembering the last war, depression seems to him inevitable. He wants to accumulate some reserve before it hits. But he thinks something stands in his way, and he thinks it is labor. He's heard a lot about high pay, strikes, closed shop, seniority and unreasonable demands while the boys were fighting. If you press him his arguments quickly run out, but nevertheless that is his strong impression.

Actually, there is a striking similarity in the problems of both the veteran and labor. Labor faces reconversion, cutbacks, unemployment, reduction in take home pay, attacks against durable peace, security, its very existence. And those who stand in the way of a solution to these problems are of common concern to both veterans and labor. Yet labor seems to fear the veteran, instead of accepting him as an ally and partner. Reactionary big business is consciously trying to pit the veteran against labor, and some in labor's ranks are falling for it. Labor is not telling its great story to the serviceman, its splendid record of production and strict adherence to the no-strike pledge, its fight on the political front, its fight for the Roosevelt program. For the most part labor has responded only to "invitations" (few and far between) to meet and speak to the serviceman. Manufacturers and representatives of big business are touring the battle fronts assuring the boys "that they can come to them for jobs."

Defeatists like Senators Wheeler and Capehart openly speak to the soldiers of war against the Soviet Union. At home returning and wounded soldiers are touring plants under the auspices of manufacturers. But labor is not getting nor demanding similar privileges. It is not explaining its patriotic activities to soldiers. I even understand that labor has not in some instances taken advantage of offers to tour the battle fronts.

Labor must exert itself. It has a right to speak. It has a great message. Labor is our best friend and most natural ally. Most of us come from the ranks of the working class and many are already trade unionists. Our interest in fighting Hitler and the Mikado is identical. We could not have succeeded against the Nazis without that staggering miracle of production and that would not have been possible without the tremendous sacrifices and contributions of the labor movement. It is in labor's direct interest to see that we get a square deal, for labor needs every ally to solve its own problems, and next to labor we are the largest sympathetic group, fourteen million strong. Labor must speak up on the GI Bill of Rights, for more adequate and equitable legislation, for mustering-out pay, bonus, hospital facilities, jobs, etc. We both want a durable peace, jobs and security. That's enough common ground for any alliance. The organization of veterans can't be surrendered to big business. It belongs naturally to labor, not big business. If Labor fails, it will fail by default.

Moreover, the soldier still comes out of the Army with the prejudices and feelings of intolerance he had before he went in. Anti-Negro and anti-Semitic feeling is still strong, notwithstanding excellent declarations made by Marshall, Eisenhower, and others, and the advances in the Army's attitude over the first world war. The lot of the Negro has been a hard and difficult one, with many obstacles constantly put in his way to prevent him from contributing his share equally with his white brother in khaki. The jobs given him don't measure up to his ability to work and fight. He has often borne the humiliation of physical attack from white brothers. In the face of this he has made a constant effort to get into the actual fighting. He quickly and excellently responded to the aviation cadet program, to parachute training; he answered the call of General Eisenhower last Christmas for volunteers from other services for the infantry. And who can forget the excellent performance of Colonel Davis' squadron in the Mediterranean theater, of the Negro artillery units in Normandy and France, of the 92nd in Italy, the 93rd in the Pacific, and of the Negro platoons mixed in white units in Belgium and Germany?

But a positive factor can be noted here, however small and inadequate. For wherever soldiers of different groups have been thrown together by the exigencies of war a change for the better takes place in their attitude. When they fight together, live together, are treated and recuperate together in the same hospitals, many previous concepts quickly melt away. Those who have experienced this sharing have learned something they are not quickly to forget.

As a Jew I met anti-Semitism. Yet one small experience was very heartening. After the jump in Holland and a few rough days we were in a relatively quiet section. Boys in my squad were sitting around evaluating the participation of the individual guys. My buddy, a Mexican American, came up to me and said hesitantly that he wanted to pay me a compliment, but didn't know how I'd take it. I said go ahead. "Wellman," he said, "You're the first Jew I ever met who has guts." I took it as an insult but I didn't fly off the handle; instead, four of us, an Irish-American from Massachusetts, and an Italian-American from Rochester, Joe and I got into a discussion. I told them why I was insulted and asked them for all the wrong impressions and ideas they had about Jews. We sat up half the night talking and explaining.

But this is a very serious problem. Reaction, fostering racial intolerance, will find easy prey among a large section of servicemen and veterans. And there is one big force that can help the veteran over this problem. That is labor. It is labor that has made the greatest advances on this question; it is the natural champion against anti-Negro feeling and anti-Semitism.

The GI is worried about how to cross the bridge from being a serviceman to becoming a civilian. The GI Bill of Rights is a wonderful thing, but he feels it doesn't serve everyone. The student has some excellent things to take advantage of (with plenty of room for improvement, however), the guy who wants to go into business has possibilities. But as things are now it is hard to take much advantage of the possibilities. The rise in the cost of living has made many small business investments a risk. If they appear unsound the loan will not be granted, and of thousands of requests already made only some few hundred loans have been approved. The twenty dollars a week the veteran can collect

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A LETTER TO OUR READERS

By THE EDITORS

IN OUR issue of June 26 we published an editorial indicating our position on the Duclos article and the resolution of the National Board of the Communist Political Association. We wrote then that we are convinced "the theories adopted by the American Communists in January 1944, were profoundly mistaken, and that NEW MASSES itself must accept its share of responsibility in giving currency to those ideas." That editorial initiated a time of stock-taking, of examination of past mistakes so that we can learn from them in order to gear the magazine for the onrush of today's and tomorrow's responsibilities. Heavy responsibilities indeed, as we shall indicate further.

That examination is predicated on what, by now, is a truism to NEW MASSES readers: that practice cannot be divorced from theory. We know that a set of erroneous premises impels a train of wrong actions. With that realization, we are, with the participation of NM friends and collaborators, reexamining the approaches we had to various aspects of our work—our handling of domestic, international, cultural issues; our practice in dealing with writers and individuals who differed with our outlook; our specific journalistic presentations; our fundamental relations with readers, writers, artists. In short our whole way of work. We shall soon begin publishing the conclusions drawn from these examinations for our readers' consideration; meanwhile we want them—you—to let us know what you feel, what you think; we want you to join us immediately in hammering out a magazine policy that will result in the kind of publication the times require. We want to make these pages real examples of Marxist journalism.

We know NM has fallen short of that, particularly in these past several years. The reader who took exception to our saying in the editorial that "NEW MASSES is a Marxist magazine" had merit in his criticism and was right in suggesting we should have said we "strive to be a Marxist magazine." We did not hit the bull's-eye. We were using a wrong range-finder.

To fulfill our responsibilities requires a complex of many attributes; mastery of the Marxist approaches, genuine collective work, improved liaison with our readers and contributors, stronger ties with the progressive and democratic organizations in the country, particularly the trade unions, industrial and white collar, and various cultural groups; greater integration with America's writers and artists seeking to achieve cultural forms to aid the people's progress.

The times require this: we can already see the shape of things that reaction plots for America. It seeks to destroy the bulwark of our democracy, organized labor; hence we must become more integrated with trade union life. Evil men like Rankin and those who inspire him seek to pit veterans against labor, Negro against white, Gentile against Jew, middle-class against working-class. We must consistently expose the unfolding aspects of this plot so our people can be forearmed. In our particular milieu, we know that those who advocate an unbridled American imperialism, such journalistic hierarchs as Henry Luce, plan to bring out a devil's brigade of "magazines of opinion." They will assault the bastions of clear, honest thought on the political, economic and cultural issues of our time.

In short, the heinous effort to destroy the democratic coalition is upon us. Therefore our duties become all the greater. Though we know the democratic coalition has unprecedented power and rich experience, we are well aware that hard, grueling conflict is ahead, conflict imposed upon our people by the many pronged, powerful, well-heeled campaign of the economic royalists and their flunkies.

To gear ourselves for this is our—your—immediate concern. For this we want your utmost cooperation. The Duclos letter and the discussion of the Communist Political Association is dispelling a fog; Marxists can begin to see the shape of the terrain before them. It is hard, dangerous land, scarred with many pitfalls, but it is not impassible. To traverse that terrain successfully, we must march together, work together, united, help each other chart the necessary paths.

The draft resolution of the CPA has done a fundamental job in charting the road, and as we have indicated, we fully agree with its major tenets.

We would, however, like to see the following considerations added to the draft resolution: more specific attention to labor's allies in the democratic, anti-fascist coalition—the white-collar groups, the professionals, the cultural and scientific workers, as well as the farmers. We expect the CPA to cope with these problems, but specifically, they fall within the orbit of NEW MASSES' regular attention. We shall continue to discuss these issues in greater detail, but we wish, immediately, to pose the following for our readers' consideration: the struggle for a genuine, anti-fascist democratic culture is one of NEW MASSES' primary responsibilities. We publish in an America that has powerful democratic wellsprings, but we know that evil, fascist cross-currents flow swiftly. America is daily subjected to the racist, reactionary ideas of the Hearst-McCormick-Patterson Axis; our peoples' thinking is constantly assaulted by anti-labor, anti-Soviet, anti-coalition ideas in the weekly magazines of Henry Luce and his fellows; *Reader's Digest*, one of the most baneful influences in our national culture, reaches nearly 10,000,000 monthly; in many of our educational institutions pro-fascist ideas are disseminated covertly, if not openly; anti-Negro and anti-Semitic practices are far from uncommon in our universities where, in reality, the *numerus clausus* is accepted without second thought; Hollywood, for instance, continues to produce films libelous of the great Negro masses in America; our cultural workers and professional strata live and seek to fulfill their talents for the common good within a pattern of contracting livelihood, as we have recently pointed out. All these factors converge upon us with heightened impact as the nation moves into the transitional times of a peace economy. We must, therefore, refashion the magazine into a powerful, crusading champion for a vital, popular, democratic culture.

To grapple with these problems adequately, we want your help. NEW MASSES is not an organization; it is a magazine with readers scattered across these forty-eight states; readers who have wide, intimate contact with the heart of America. We cannot gather in a hall to talk over these problems, to hammer out a policy. But we can achieve the possible. You can write NM what you are thinking, acquaint us with your reactions to the various aspects of our work. What you feel is good in our

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READERS' FORUM

A Critic of NM

TO NEW MASSES: Your editorial of June 26 was profoundly discouraging. Instead of the title, "NM Evaluates Its Course" it would have been far more accurate to caption it "Once Again NM Underestimates Its Errors." The editorial contains no genuine criticism of the magazine. It merely summarizes (second hand) the criticisms of Foster and Duclos of the revisionism which took place in the Communist Political Association. This goes on for column after column: a fluent well written summary, to be sure, but one to which NM seems to attach itself somewhat casually. When the article finally reached its last paragraph, the editors took stock of themselves; briefly, most generously, and with a smugness that was mighty hard to take.

In previous months, there have appeared in the *Readers' Forum* many sharp criticisms of the magazine by Pollack, DeGraaf, L.L. and others. To interpret these objections to the editorial policy merely as "a lack of full clarity and vigor" is incomprehensible. Either you refuse to take such criticism seriously, in which case you have learned nothing in this period, or you disagree with it, in which case you should attempt to defend yourselves. But to pass it off as you do is deliberate misinterpretation, and, in my opinion, intolerable.

Such an attitude is bound to lead to the next neat bit of phrase coining. Having done your "duty" by outlining the errors, you go on: "the period following the end of the European phase of the war is the one in which the non-Marxian conceptions adopted by us would have proved most damaging." With that cheery conclusion, which showed that it wasn't really so bad, you continued your spectacle of intellectual acrobatics, somersaulting happily to the position "our work was a formidable plus" and with a final coy wave of the handkerchief, flipped yourselves right on the "high road again."

You may be on the high road again, but from where we stand, you've landed, not on your feet, but flat on your backs. The "high road" which you cherish is a sorry illusion, a dream cloud. If you're there, you're there alone. The rest of us are down below, in the mass of the debris, examining the extensive damage, preparing to work our arms off to the elbows, hoping to clear the wreckage, which might take years, to get back on that high road. We stand in awe before those who can do it in one easy editorial. This much I know: if you stay up there while we're working below, the twain will never meet again.

Evidently you're so high on the road you can still make such glaring errors as the one which appears in the same issue of the magazine on the page directly opposite your editorial.

You give almost three columns to a gentleman named F. J. Meyers (which is proper enough) to explain why he considers Browder's position correct. He wrote the letters, but *you* wrote the caption. Now this letter could have had any number of captions. It could have been headed, "Upholds Browder Position," "Disagrees with Foster," etc., etc. But, no. On the page opposite your editorial which deals with your new found conclusions that Browder was in error, you title an article upholding Browder, "The Marxist Road Today." At least if you had put a question mark after it, to prove you meant what you said in your editorial.

Further: is there such paucity of material today, or was it impossible for you to find anything more to say about the errors of the magazine during the last period that forced you to devote space for a lengthy article, plus an editorial, plus a special boxed editorial, on the momentous discovery that Hearst is a pro-fascist? That Hearst has discovered the "big" lie? This is not news, just because it hits an editor of NM. It could have been, and should have been disposed of in a box, announcing that Ruth McKenney has joined the long list of people who are suing Hearst for libel. But to blow it up as a sensational "discovery"! May I suggest that editors sit down around a table and start a serious discussion and not feel they have completed their work with one happy little editorial?

If NM is going to meet the great responsibilities which lie ahead, it *must* change its policy. It can no longer be a house organ, nor a pipeline for the policies of others, automatically and unthinkingly accepted, rewritten slightly and passed on. Once again NM must become a hard hitting, critical journal. Use your abilities, not to prove that others are correct, but to determine whether or not they *are* correct. Let's have fewer eulogies of historical figures and more searching examination of current history, less slick phrase-making and more hard hitting facts, less "write-a-letter-to-your-Congressman" and more "throw-the-rascal-out."

Get out of that misty, rosy-hued cloud and come down here amidst the wreckage and meet your readers.

L. A. C.

Hollywood.

"Devoutly Thankful"

TO NEW MASSES: For your "NM Evaluates Its Course," all but the reactionaries and our Social Democrats are devoutly thankful. A temporary tactic applied as an over-all strategy becomes as dangerous as the most idealistic rationalization of historical facts. Pure logic, like pure mathematics, is an excellent tool, but it would be difficult to point to a single important step forward in man's progress that could be directly attributed to pure reason. Correct premises are essential; and the only way to keep them correct is to rely on the scientific approach of dialectic materialism. The harm that has been done to our movement is serious enough. That it has not been irreparable is due to the simple fact that, in practice, it has not been possible for serious Party workers to give more than lip service to Mr. Browder's "notorious revision of Marxism."

It has not at any point been possible to do anything demanded by the current historical situation without rationalizing the nonsense of the "revision" into sense. That is the fallacy of Browder's position. When a Communist has to rationalize there is something terribly wrong. There is confusion among the workers; there is alienation of the sound Marxist thinkers among the professional people, who are most anxious to help us; and the door is thrown open to all manner of Bukharinist "tripe" like that of Mr. Landy on the woman question. Like my great friend, Mr. Eugene A. Cox of Lewiston, Idaho, I am pleased beyond measure at the promise of returning sanity among North American Communists. That is why I renewed my subscription to NM last week.

C. B. DARWIN.

Vancouver, B. C.

Historical Errata?

TO NEW MASSES: I hope you have some space for comment on the articles by Ralph Bowman and Elizabeth McCausland (NM, July 10).

1. Drawing attention to the anti-feudal aspect of the American Revolution and to the significance of widespread land ownership in the rise of American capitalism, Mr. Bowman states that the colonists were not faced in 1776 with the task of destroying feudal agrarian relations. *True.* But the reason, he adds, is that "Britain broke its ancient laws and hallowed traditions to permit the colonial farmers to buy land. . . ." *False.*

The "ancient law" provided for the grant of land, by the Crown, in one of three ways. Details aside, their purpose was to secure immediate revenue to the Crown by granting to a merchant company or some Lords Proprietors the right to colonize lands overseas and make money thereby. The latter had the right to collect quit-rents, but they never got far with their attempts because the colonists resisted and the entire machinery of American colonial government was on short rations a good part of the time—the politicians being

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Thorez on the American Communists

The following excerpt from the report presented June 26, 1945 to the Tenth Congress of the French Communist Party, by its Secretary General, Maurice Thorez, will be of particular interest to American Communists and those who are following their work.

"IF ONE seriously analyzes the causes of the defeat of 1940 and the dramatic situation in which our country found itself, *and still finds itself* involved, one will discover that the fundamental cause is the egoism of certain privileged circles who have deliberately sacrificed the interests of the nation to the defense of their privileges. That is a fact. The class struggle is a fact.

"One must add that Communists take facts into account. Opportunist concepts always lead to the liquidation of the independent role of the working class, the most active element in the union of the toiling strata of the nation. Such concepts lead to the liquidation of the Party. Several leaders of the American Communist Party fell into this grave error. We didn't hesitate to offer our advice through an article by our comrade, Duclos, which, we hope, will help the American Communists to rediscover the correct path."

wrapped up in other things more important to them.

There were two important exceptions to this general trend. (a) For reasons that cannot be expounded here the New England settlers successfully evaded quit-rents from the very start. (b) The merchant company sponsoring Virginia sold land outright as a means of populating its colony—the "headright" system.

Mr. Bowman is thus wrong on two counts. "Britain," in the sense of a unified policy, seldom existed; there were too many inner conflicts among landowners, merchants, manufacturers and politicians. And the word "permit" is improper; the colonists struggled for what they got, taking advantage of all circumstances. In New York the struggle was sometimes bloody, and continued to 1844. Furthermore, I think it deplorable to refer to "most historians" and "those historians who . . . ," rap their knuckles for some "failure" real or fancied, and mention neither names nor books nor specific points. Mr. Bowman ought to know better.

2. While I enjoyed Miss McCausland's essay very much, I was surprised to see that she shares the hoary illusion that "it was our early artisans' and mechanics' associations which founded the American public school system. . . ."

On the contrary, in New England and New York at least, the legislation of the 1830's was passed primarily because the recently enfranchised masses were demanding all manner of economic and social reforms under Jackson's banner and the upper classes were convinced that they could be tamed ideologically by widespread education. There is plenty of evidence on the subject in *America's Struggle for Free Schools* (Washington, 1941), by S. L. Jackson. STANLEY ARCHER.

Suggestions

TO NEW MASSES: My only suggestion for the improvement of NEW MASSES is that it contain more stories of the virile efforts of labor leaders, writers and other militant leftists to prevent the return to power of those industrialists and their royal puppets whose machinations brought on this conflict.

It is sometimes just a little irksome to wade through a lot of verbose drivel by some effete diletante who goes into ecstasy over the social consciousness of some half crazy cubist's delirium nightmares on canvas.

Peculiarly of late I have found *Fortune* stealing your stuff, and eulogizing Russian integrity and citing it as a good risk for long term credit by our banks and industry.

R. S. CY (T)
Special US Naval Construction Battalion, FPO San Francisco.

The Hearst Lie

TO NEW MASSES: Ruth McKenney's article in the June 26 issue should be reprinted and reheaded and sent to every member of Congress in Washington, every state commander of the American Legion, every union executive, every school head, every clergyman, every person of influence in the State of California and the City of Los Angeles. The Knights of Columbus is particularly vigilant, even resorting to law when Great Lies are circulated about it.

The article, accompanied if possible by reprints of the original article in the Hearst *Examiner*, should be reheaded: "The Hearst-Hitlerian Great Lie." All through the piece instead of "The Great Lie" it should read the "Great Hearst-Hitler Lie."

Maybe Hitler didn't kill himself after all. Have the United Nations authorities thought of searching the Hearst newspaper offices for him? L. V. COLES.
Bronx, New York.

Communists in the Army

TO NEW MASSES: Alvah Bessie's story in the May 29 issue called "Joe Hecht, American" was sent to me. I think it's a good moving job. There's one complaint I have to make—not only of this story, but of the editorials and articles I have seen in NM and other publications. Bessie writes, "The Army has learned it can't fight an efficient war if it discards good men simply because they are or have been called Communists."

There may have been War Department statements to that effect, general orders, special orders and whatnot, but it just isn't so—not in the Air Corps. I personally have run into five men who have been shoved into the lousiest jobs in the whole AAF (*and* confined to service in the USA) "because they are or have been called Communists," all on orders issued in the last three months. One of the five told me he had heard of hundreds who went through a single camp (Lincoln, Neb.) where he was.

Mind you, in no case did the question of becoming an officer even arise. In one case a man spent over six months at two radio schools, two months on the line as a radio maintenance man, then—bang—he was made (as were the others) a "general duty" soldier. In the AAF that means latrine orderly, KP pusher, and jobs of that caliber. The average ("non-suspect") men put in that category are deemed incapable of absorbing any further training. No, it's not the concentration camp used a few years back, but it's the next thing to it.

Incidentally, orders on these matters are not the whims of an over-zealous shavetail, they originate in Washington—right at the top. PRIVATE, AAF.

Freight Rates

TO NEW MASSES: Your editorial note in the June 5 issue on the Southern freight-rate ruling seems to me to leave a couple of questions hanging in the air. The ruling is indeed of immense importance, but the freight differentials have long been one of the most jealously guarded and immensely profitable perquisites of Northern and Eastern monopolists; it seems unlikely that they will give it up without a struggle. What are they likely to do about it? How may they try to nullify or sabotage the ruling, and what can or should be done to counter such moves? Was the ruling really complete or are there other changes that must be fought for? NEW MASSES has its hands full these days, I know, but a victory of this sort over the reactionary monopoly forces is so important that a few words at least as to how it can be maintained and extended are essential.

HENRY BLACK.
New York City.

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NM SPOTLIGHT

Exit Senor Padilla

EZEQUIEL PADILLA, Foreign Minister of Mexico, has resigned. His own people have forced him out, regarding his activities on behalf of a hated element in a foreign country, i.e., the anti-democratic groupings in the American State Department, as contrary to their own interests. At Chapultepec last winter he had permitted himself to become the principal stooge of those American striped-pants boys who wanted nothing so much as to save Latin America from the scourge of democracy by bolstering the tottering fascist regime of Farrell and Peron in Argentina. He became their spokesman. And so skillfully did he perform his job that many persons were convinced that the American State Department gave in on the Argentine issue under "pressure" from Latin America.

The State Department reactionaries promoted Ezequiel Padilla at San Francisco. He not only organized the admission of fascist Argentina to the UNCIO but he was instructed to perform such other tasks as trying to sabotage the world organization by placing the major responsibility for security upon regional blocs. In return for his heroic endeavors Padilla was royally feted and honored by the very *creme de la creme* of San Francisco society and Mr. Hearst.

But the people of Mexico, following the wise leadership of such democrats as Lombardo Toledano, have repudiated Padilla and his policies. In so doing they have also repudiated the reactionary policies of those North American "statesmen" who gave Padilla his orders. They have therefore done us a great service. For every Latin American prop that is dropped out of the political edifice that Adolph Berle, George Messersmith, Nelson Rockefeller and Avra Warren have built makes their own tenure of office that much more precarious.

Max Schmeling: Educator

THE political illiteracy of certain cadres of the AMG was brought into the limelight again this week by our discovery that that champion of the Master Race, Max Schmeling, is living in the plush in Hamburg as a helper in the reeducation of Nazi youth. Mr. Schmeling observed sweetly to the correspondent of the New York *Sun* who interviewed him that he would go about this task "with democratic ideas," injecting unabashedly at an odd spot in the questioning that "As a patriotic German, I naturally hoped Germany would win the war." This "genuine anti-Nazi," who once observed that "any German Ayran can beat any black representative of a decadent democracy," before he was licked by Joe Louis, and afterward that "the black dynasty of boxing must be ended," is being given permission, and, we infer, all cooperation from the Allied forces in Hamburg in his new tasks. We can imagine what sort of regeneration he will advocate in the new publishing business (for which he already has secured a print shop) he intends to establish. Certainly the emissaries from American democracy at Hamburg could do with a refresher course conducted by some of the real anti-Nazis from Buchenwald and Dachau.

Campaign to Divide

THE Rankin bill to drive a wedge between the veterans and labor has loosed a growing flood of protest from the veterans, labor organizations, Rankin's own committee and the public at large. Taking advantage of the absence of most of the progressive members of the House Committee on Veteran Affairs, Rankin rushed through a bill barring the application of the closed union shop agreements to veterans. Through this measure a veteran would be entitled to a job in a union shop without joining the union. Rankin's bill was approved by his committee without public hearings and sent to the House. Subsequently two-thirds of the committee issued a report opposing immediate action on the bill without further debate or public hearings. In the meantime veteran and labor organizations condemn the bill as a cunning device to divide the veterans from organized labor and create an artificial conflict between them.

The American Legion's National Conference of Union Labor Legionnaires representing 120 labor posts of the Legion branded the Rankin bill as an effort to drive a wedge between labor and the veterans and to smash the union shop. CIO and AFL unions all over the country are going on record against the bill and pointing out that the security of the veterans rests primarily in alliance with organized labor.

Rankin's tactic is one of the first manifestations of the open shop strategy of reactionary forces. All peoples and democratic organizations should join the veterans and organized labor to defeat the Rankin bill.

Veterans of the Sea

THE American people became aware of the hardships, dangers, low wages and matchless heroism of the merchant seamen during the first year of the war when our munition-laden ships were being blown up almost daily with Nazi torpedoes and aerial bombs. Seamen who escaped death in the icy waters returned home to ship out again and again, delivering munitions to the fighting fronts. A grateful government, in recognition of this heroism, gave the merchant seamen war bonuses and thus raised their income almost to the prevailing levels of workers in the factories.

Now that the war is nearing its victorious conclusion and reconversion is being planned, the Maritime War Emergency Board has ruled that the bonus be drastically reduced. Merchant seamen will again be expected to work for the substandard basic wage rate of 34½ cents an hour. The National Maritime Union has placed a demand for a fifty-five cents an hour basic wage rate before the War Labor Board. Public hearings on this request will take place July 19 and 20. As the WLB is notoriously slow in its decisions, the NMU is requesting that the bonus ruling be withheld until the WLB decides on the wage increases. The Maritime War Emergency Board insists that its ruling goes into effect July 15. In order to impress the Maritime Board with its responsibility to the merchant seamen the NMU has organized picket lines at the offices of the War Shipping Administration in all the ports and is distributing postcards to the public to be sent to President Truman requesting the delay in the bonus reduction until the wage increases are granted.

The demand of the merchant seamen is a just demand and deserves the full support of the entire public. Their un-

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The News Delivery Strike

As we go to press the New York news delivery workers are still on strike and the nation is witnessing the first, full-dress effort of a powerful monopoly—in this case the publishers—to destroy organized labor. Whatever the facts of a fortnight ago when the men voted strike, the rock-bottom reality today is this: the Publishers Association has, to date, refused the union's offer to have the issues arbitrated through the choice of a responsible figure chosen from the State Mediation Board or any state labor authority. The strikers would return immediately if the arbitration offer is accepted. The overwhelming majority of New York labor is in favor of this solution, but the publishers stand pat, and have threatened every worker who failed to return by Monday, July 16 with discharge.

The publishers, accepting the leadership of the *Daily News* which, as the nation knows, has consistently undermined the war effort, are considering the employment of strikebreakers. They are abetted in this by the unfortunate stand in their behalf taken by Mayor La Guardia and the War Labor Board. The publishers have already permitted children of school age to sell papers on the streets—this in itself is a violation of New York law which bans newspaper employes under sixteen from appearing on the streets "without a street badge."

The *Daily News* has already sought to use Negro against white, and the publishers as a whole are plotting to bring returned servicemen into the scene by utilizing them as strikebreaking drivers. The publishers are not hesitating to transform New York into a scene of bloody industrial strife.

Actually, the principal issue boils down to the strikers' demand for a three percent welfare fund to be paid by the publishers. This is not at all unusual. In fact it has been met by most employers in the city and in the newspaper industry itself, the publishers and the Newspaper Guild-CIO have just such contracts which include sick benefits, death benefits, severance pay and other such items. Why the publishers refuse the same concessions to the delivery men, whose conditions of outdoor work are hazardous and require even more benefits than inside workers, is more than suspicious.

The publishers talk about allowing the WLB to pass on this demand but it is common knowledge that the Board has, in every case, turned down such a contract unless it was a "voluntary agreement" between employers and employes, reached before the case went to the WLB.

Every day's events underscore the following fact: the publishers have not hesitated (at great expense) to deny the strikers their just demands evidently in order to goad them into a strike situation which would permit the newspaper tycoons to go all-out in union-breaking. And for this the WLB must share responsibility. It has withdrawn union gains from the strikers, and in effect, has sanctioned the use of strikebreakers. The Greater New York CIO Council, which has abided totally by its no-strike pledge, has severely criticized the WLB's role. "Instead of helping bring about the settlement of the grievance which occasioned the strike, it has ignored the refusal of the publishers to negotiate in good faith and cracked down on the union." This, the CIO points out, despite the fact that it has permitted employers to "defy its directive for months on end and refused to impose sanctions against them."

The people of New York bear a great responsibility now: they must, Negro and white, of every category, give the newspaper deliverymen all support, and demand that the publishers agree to the union's arbitration proposals. Otherwise, the publishers may be successful in their efforts to make the pavements of New York the scene of employer-inspired violence.

matched war service and one hundred percent observation of the wartime no-strike pledge certainly calls for generous treatment by the government. Seamen are veterans and deserve the treatment due veterans.

Halfway for FEPC

Congressional passage of the $250,000 appropriation for the FEPC for the next twelve months is a substantial victory for the labor and democratic forces of the nation. The defeat of powerful and determined alliance of the Southern poll-taxers with Northern reaction is not only an important democratic gain for the country but also a demonstration that reaction can be defeated when the people's organizations are vigilant, resolute and persevering in their efforts. For the last few weeks the prospects for the continuation of the FEPC were uncertain and it was only the aroused and sustained campaign under the able leadership of Rep. Vito Marcantonio that turned the scales in the direction of progress.

It is, however, necessary to warn that this is but a transitory gain. The appropriation is only one-half of the sum deemed necessary by President Truman and further, a part of this appropriation is earmarked for the liquidation of the FEPC a year from now. With this partial victory behind us it is now essential to prepare the campaign to win a permanent FEPC. A petition to this effect is on the House Speaker's desk with 145 signatures. Seventy-three more are needed to place it before Congress for action. Congressman Marcantonio has characterized the fight for a permanent FEPC as the modern formulation of the basic American tradition "that all men are created equal." In the near future the plans for the campaign to secure a permanent FEPC will be revealed and the labor and democratic organizations should prepare now to give it their full and wholehearted support.

Church and State

Among the many achievements of Thomas Jefferson, one which he himself regarded as among his out-

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standing contributions to solving the problems of his times was the Statute of Virginia on Religious Freedom, which was written as the climax of a long, hard battle to separate church and state.

The fathers of the American Revolution fought so vigorously against state support of any church that it is startling in the twentieth century to find an issue before the US Congress which involves just that. The problem of federal aid to education is a deepgoing one which has not even begun to be met by the US Congress. It comes then as a real blow to find a bill providing federal funds for buildings, libraries, transportation, health programs, instructional material and other educational facilities dragging in a fundamental issue of this magnitude. The Mead-Aiken-Lesinski bill (S-717, HR-3002) among other things, makes special provisions for those states in which the distribution of public funds is prohibited to sectarian schools; it specifically violates the constitutions of those states, as well as a basic principle on which this republic was established, by setting up a board to determine the proportion of funds to be allocated to public and "non-public" schools. This means fundamentally the Catholic parochial schools, with some 2,000,000 pupils, which constitute the majority of non-public general schools in the USA. The backers of the bill have won support from the American Federation of Teachers-AFL through some fine phrases about providing "without discrimination . . . in regard to race, creed or status," and have confused others on this matter, which in its essence provides direct financial support for sectarian teaching, even for buildings, libraries, textbooks, etc. The Teachers Union (Local 555, State County and Municipal Workers-CIO) and the Teachers Guild (affiliate of the AFT-AFL) of New York are fighting the bill.

An alternative, the Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck bill, supported by these organizations, and embodying the favorable provisions of the Mead bill, is also before the Senate Committee on Education. Be sure to include in your stint of letter-writing to Congress a memorandum to your representatives in both Houses that you don't want the taxpayers' money supporting any creed, and that you want the Thomas-Hill-Ramspeck bill instead.

FRONT LINES by COLONEL T.

RETREAT TO THE "REDOUBT"

NEWS from the Orient—very good news—has been pouring in thick and fast these days. And so manifold and complex are the various battle sectors involved that the average reader of newspapers and dispatches may easily lose sight of the forest for the trees. There is one outstanding strategic factor which must be borne in mind in order to understand the whole picture: the Japanese leadership is now convinced that it cannot preserve its empire in the form it is in today and that, furthermore, it cannot bring the war to as much as a draw. It is playing for time, hoping against hope (exactly as Germany did during the last year of the war in Europe) that: (a) the "damn Yankees" will get tired of fighting; (b) the British will not put their shoulder to the wheel in East Asia beyond "token efforts"; and (c) that the Anglo-Saxons will fall out with the Russians in Europe and that what happens on the plains of Brandenburg will be immediately reflected on the plains of Manchuria. This reasoning is not new, for back in 1938, during the days of the Changkufeng affray, one of the Polish fascist ministers said: "The fate of Poland is being decided on the plains of Manchuria." The Japanese may well reverse the saying thus: "The fate of Japan is being decided in Brandenburg."

The Japanese empire (including all the loot) looks like a huge tadpole, some five thousand miles long from head to tail, that is, from the Amur to the eastern tip of Java. It is about six thousand miles long, however, if one should include the "horn" of the Kuriles. In the fateful fall of 1942 when the Red Army stood with its back to the Volga and the British stood with their back to the Nile, the "tadpole" looked like a huge egg whose eastern curve touched the international date-line and whose western curve touched the frontier of India. The northern tip of the egg was in the Aleutians while the southern tip threatened Australia.

Eugene Karlin.

During the last two and one-half years, starting at Guadalcanal, we have caved in the eastern wall of the egg and have progressed from the international date-line to the Japan Stream—a small matter of three thousand miles of island-dotted water. We have reached the eastern shores of the chain of inner seas which form the life line of the enemy empire—the Japan Sea, the East China Sea and the South China Sea—and we are covering at least the latter two of these seas with our air power and in part with our surface naval power.

The head of the tadpole in Japan, Korea, Manchuria and Inner Mongolia is linked to its tail in the East Indies only by a long and tenuous coastal sea lane running through the bottlenecks of Tsushima and Formosa and by a strip of land in China which at this writing is no wider than twenty-five miles in Kwangsi Province.

It must be remembered that the huge

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area between the Yangtze and the southern border of Inner Mongolia—an area about 500 miles wide and 1,000 miles long from north to south—is shot through with Chinese guerrilla forces which often prove considerably more effective than Generalissimo Chiang's "regulars." In this area the Japanese hold only the big cities and the railroad lines.

Thus it is quite clear that the tadpole is about to fall apart into two or more segments (the "head," in Japan, Manchuria, Korea and Inner Mongolia, the "neck" in North China between Peiping and the Yangtze, and the "tail" in South China, Indo-China, Burma, Malaya, Thailand and the East Indies). The most likely point of rupture will be somewhere on the Yangtze, along the Ichang-Shanghai line.

THERE have been a number of concrete facts reported of late which tend to indicate that the Japanese are shifting their power north. Our fliers have been observing for weeks the movement of troop trains northward bound from South China. General Chennault has said the Japanese were shifting their air power from the south to Manchuria. Naval convoys have been attacked and dispersed by our air forces between Shanghai and Nagasaki; these convoys were shuttling troops homeward from the continent. The Japanese themselves have been saying that many of the factories are being evacuated from the home islands to Manchuria. All this tends to indicate that the Japanese expect to concentrate their available military might in the north.

Now, does this mean that they will *abandon* the south, or the tail of the tadpole? Not at all, if only because they cannot abandon it, having no adequate lines of communications for the shifting of a million troops dispersed between Bougainville and the Andamans, and between Timor and Formosa. These troops are stuck for good. They cannot even be supplied and from now on must live and fight on their stores and on the driblets of stuff local industry can provide them.

What then will the role of the severed tail of the tadpole be? It will be that of a general nuisance for us. First, the scattered Japanese garrisons in an area of more than a million square miles of land, islands and water will keep considerable American and Allied forces busy, if not fighting then at least watching the Japanese. All these "watchers" will have to be supplied over immense distances. Naval and air power will be kept busy preventing the isolated Japanese from being supplied, evacuated, or reinforced, even if by the method of robbing Peter to pay Paul. Second, the Japanese will try to deny us the use of the great ports of Surabaya, Singapore, Hongkong, Swatow, Amoy, thus forcing us to use the "beach method" for landing operations, so dangerous, especially during the typhoon season when a hard blow of the weather can sever for days on end all communications with troops already landed. Third, by hanging on to the great barrier of Malaya-Sumatra-Java, the enemy will effectively keep British naval and land power in the Indian Ocean isolated from ours in the Pacific. The British, much weaker in the Orient than we are, might be kept immobilized by whatever Japanese power is available in the tail of the tadpole, as long as their tactical cooperation with us is impossible because of the East Indian barrier.

Thus the Japanese forces in the tail of the tadpole would play a role very similar to those the Germans kept in Norway as well as in the ports of France only on a still larger scale.

The Japanese position in the neck of the tadpole, that is, in the provinces of Hopei, Shansi, Shantung, Honan, Hupeh, Anhwei and Kiangsi, precarious as it is, will depend largely on our policy toward the Communist-led area of China and toward Chungking. If we get off our high but lame horse of dealing only with Chiang and give some help direct to the Yenan forces, the Japanese in the neck will be placed in an untenable position. If they lose the neck of the tadpole, they will be reduced for their last stand to the redoubt of Manchuria, Korea, Inner Mongolia and Japan proper, that is, to the fighting space north of the Paotow-Peiping-Tientsin-Dairen-Nagasaki line.

Irvin Greenberg.

Let us see in what strategic position (or condition) this "redoubt" is today. Its eastern front, between Kyushu and the northernmost Kuriles (some 2,000 miles of intermittent coastline), is under close attack by our air and naval power. Fortresses and fighter-bombers from Okinawa reach Shanghai, the southern tip of Korea, the Tsushima Strait and Kyushu with their tactical air arc and can reach Peiping and Changchun with their strategic air arc; the tactical air arc from Iwo extends to Tokyo while the strategic arc reaches all of Japan.

Our naval task forces have penetrated into the Sea of Okhotsk, breaking through the Kuriles barrier and might soon give a dose of ship artillery to southern Sakhalin. The Kuriles and the Ryukyus are no more barriers on which the enemy can rely as flank guards.

Admiral Halsey has sailed into Tokyo Bay and into Muroran Bay on Hokkaido and has bombarded the "inner sanctum" of Japan. No counter-action worthy of the name has been encountered. The Japanese Navy—what is left of it—and the Japanese Air Force kept very quiet. They are probably being saved carefully for the protection and maintenance of the innermost communications between the home land and Korea—the last thread that will keep the "redoubt" together.

For the present it would appear that only the typhoons are protecting the eastern coasts of Japan from invasion. The typhoons will last until about Labor Day (and a serious opponent it is, judging by the terrific buffeting Admiral Halsey's Fleet got on June 5 when the cruiser *Pittsburg* lost 104 feet of its bow, severed clear by the 138-mile-an-hour storm and a score of other ships, including the biggest battlewagons, were damaged). Be this as it may, in the east we are smack up to Japan's front "trench."

The southern front of the "redoubt" runs from the Gulf of Chihli to Paotow. There are open plains here and on them our superior mechanization will put the Japanese at a terrible disadvantage. It is one thing to fight against us from caves; it is another to meet us in open mobile warfare. Marshal Zhukov in the summer of 1939 demonstrated what happens to the Japanese

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when they encounter a first class army in open warfare. (The Japanese Sixth Army under General Kamatsubara was wiped out in a matter of days at Nomonhan.)

The most vulnerable sector of the "redoubt," however, is in Inner Mongolia. Without discussing idly the probabilities of the entry of the Soviet Union into the conflict, it can be said with assurance that the Japanese, whatever we do, will keep the cream of their continental troops on that front, which will help us considerably.

Thus from all appearances Manchuria, perhaps this winter, will be the scene of Japan's last struggle.

The GI Comes Home

(*Continued from page* 15)

on unemployment insurance is wholly inadequate, especially when he knows that these payments will be deducted from a future bonus. When he returns for his old job he may find that it is not there, or that the industry is faced with reconversion. Many return incapacitated and unable to handle their previous jobs. The GI Bill of Rights is inadequate. Much more is necessary. Here the reactionaries are taking advantage and speaking up with Rankin as champion. Actually only labor can help. Its voice must be heard!

IN OTHER words, we soldiers are a very uncertain lot and our minds are open. If we're like that we're open to anyone and everyone, friend and foe alike, fascist demagogue and labor-progressive. Those that speak out the loudest and create the impression of doing the most will be listened to attentively. Therefore it is important that our real friends, labor in the first instance, be alert, informed and active in relation to all the problems we face, because we will soon be the nation's number one problem, good or bad, positive or negative. Labor can help to see that we are part of progress.

Labor's enemies are working feverishly to make inroads among us. Representative Rankin of Mississippi, as chairman of the Committee on Veterans' Affairs in Congress, never lets a day pass without blaming labor for the veterans' problems. Pro-fascist groups with an anti-labor bias and many thousands of dollars behind them are cropping up among veterans, groups like the American-Veterans in Texas, etc. These are danger signs. They must be recognized for the tremendous menace they are. Labor, however, can block them.

Finally, collectively and as individuals, we come back as much stauncher and stronger Americans. As a group we return with a tremendous potential strength, with great pride and confidence in ourselves. A man who goes through combat and comes out all right is stronger, more experienced and surer of himself. As individuals we have more wisdom and are more worldly, even if it is only from that trip on a boat and meeting new and different people, something most of us would never have normally experienced. We come back greatly matured and advanced in our thinking, certainly on matters of war, peace, intolerance, the Negro, the Soviet Union, etc.

President Truman placed the question well when he said, "In the next generation the veterans of this war are going to lead the country. They fought to save it and now they want to fight to maintain it and that is their duty."

I personally return proud to have been a part of a great Army, and am confident that with proper attention and leadership the veterans can be on the side of labor, for progress.

Ben Davis and the ALP

IN FAILING to give its official endorsement to the candidacy of Benjamin J. Davis, Jr., for reelection to the New York City Council the American Labor Party has done itself and the cause of progressive unity in the city a serious disservice. Davis has made an enviable record in his first term. The Negro and white people who elected him two years ago want him to return to office this fall. He is the acknowledged leader of his community in the metropolitan government. His progressive role in all phases of the city's government has earned him the praise and support of all groups who aspire to defeat reaction and corruption.

For the American Labor Party to withhold its support will do more harm to its own prestige and to the election chances of its present candidate, Eugene Connolly, than it will to the candidacy of Ben Davis. It is for the very reason that New York progressives cannot afford to see the ALP weaken itself by such a blunder that a widespread demand from unions and other mass organizations is being made upon the party to correct this error.

The arguments advanced against endorsing the Communist incumbent, Davis, are specious. If the ALP's present position is taken from fear of being Red-baited it may as well shut up shop. For Red-baiting can never be cured by Red-baiting oneself. If its failure to endorse Davis arises from ALP secretary Eugene Connolly's fear of competition on the ballot, he should be reminded that he will lose far more votes by isolating himself and his party from the Negro people, the progressive unions and other democratic forces in the city.

For these reasons NEW MASSES joins a host of other voices in urging the American Labor Party speedily to endorse the candidacy of Ben Davis.

Letter to Our Readers

(*Continued from page* 16)

work, what is bad, what we ought to know that we miss. We invite you to do this in letters up to eight hundred words, since space is one of NM's problems. You know many others we have and we are sure you will take them in consideration in your proposals for improvement. You know that we cannot, like commercial magazines, adequately pay for articles we need; hence we rely on the good will of our writers. We rely on their morale, their self-sacrifice for a common objective. All of us search for a better life for our nation, for humanity. Since all of us share that common objective we must close our ranks, march together. That, in practice, means your fullest cooperation in the discussions we are instituting in these pages; your acceptance of responsibility for hammering out a policy. We sincerely invite your participation. If we succeed in getting your thoughtful, active cooperation we shall truly be sure of "getting back on the high road again."

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REVIEW and COMMENT

FROM THE BOOKSHELF

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL FRONTIERS OF SOCIETY, *by Abram Kardiner, with the collaboration of Ralph Linton, Cora Du Bois and James West. Columbia University Press. $5.*

THIS book is representative of a new and significant trend in American social science. Refusing to be bound by the customary academic separation of the various social disciplines, Dr. Kardiner has fused contemporary anthropological research with a modified psychoanalytical approach in his continued efforts to clarify the relations between personality and culture. Like its predecessor, *The Individual and His Society*, this is a joint work undertaken with the active collaboration of practicing anthropologists.

The anthropologists first present the findings of their field research: Ralph Linton writes of the Comanches of the American southwest, Cora Du Bois of the Alorese of the Dutch East Indies; in contrast to these two pre-literate cultures James West portrays "Plainville," a rural community somewhere in the midwestern United States.

Kardiner then analyzes the interrelations between personality and culture in these three societies in terms of his major concept, the "basic personality structure." As Kardiner makes explicit, the basic personality structure is not identical with an individual's total personality. It corresponds, instead, to "the projective systems or, in different phraseology, the value attitude systems which are basic to the individual's personality configuration." These are believed to be manifested in folklore, myths, and religious or other kinds of ideologies.

Postulating that the individual's early experience exerts a lasting effect upon his personality, especially the development of the above-mentioned projective systems, Kardiner therefore emphasizes the role of child-rearing techniques. These, he further assumes, "are culturally patterned and will tend to be similar, although never identical, for various families within the society."

Inasmuch as the concept of the basic personality structure is the foundation of Kardiner's intellectual edifice, an examination of it should prove rewarding. Perhaps such an analysis may best begin by questioning whether Kardiner is correct in assuming that the child-rearing techniques are basically similar throughout a culture.

In pre-literate societies, such as those presented in this work, class stratification is relatively undeveloped. As a consequence, most families in these cultures do indeed raise their children in a way that is fundamentally similar. Can the same be said of a society such as our own in which there are, not only distinct class cleavages, but religious and ethnic subgroups as well? It would seem to this reviewer that even a superficial survey of the child-raising techniques among the various American classes and subgroups reveals significant differences. We would, for example, suggest that the breast-feeding experiences of children whose mothers are employed in industry are quite at variance with those born to a middle class family. Differing urban and rural childhood experiences would also seem relevant; and the comparatively greater importance of the woman in a Negro family.

We cannot, therefore, acquiesce in Kardiner's basic assumption that the childhood experiences in *our* culture are, for the most part, fundamentally similar. Moreover, if the basic personality structure reflects the wide variety of child-rearing methods which prevail in our society, then it is no longer capable of playing the powerful role Kardiner ascribes to it.

"CHANGES [in our society]," says Kardiner, "are predicated by the needs created in the basic personality." Linton, in elaborating this view, writes that "innovations which are congenial to the personality are accepted and incorporated into the society's culture much more readily than those which are uncongenial." If, however, there is no *one* basic personality type in our culture, but instead several, as seems more likely, then the capacity of *the* basic personality structure to delimit the types of social change is considerably curtailed, or else is so broad as to be meaningless.

In the above quotations, another and exceedingly important shortcoming of this study is seen. Kardiner often draws what amounts to a direct, one-to-one, relationship between social products (such as ideologies) and aspects of the individual personality. He finds the origins of various religions, for example, in the basic personality structure or in the family relations it is presumably derived from.

"Luther and Calvin," says Kardiner, "constructed their conception of the deity and the definition of human relations to the deity . . . out of the fabric of relations to the father in the family. . . ." This, despite the fact that Kardiner had just spent several pages demonstrating that Calvin (and to a lesser extent Luther) was "the mouthpiece for the claims of the rising bourgeois class."

At the root of Kardiner's confusion in this matter is his "trained inability" to grapple with the problem of how human groups set up or evolve rules of behavior which mediate between individual personalities. As a psychoanalytical theoretician, Kardiner tends to analyze human relations on an "interpersonal" level. He fails, however, consistently and fully to evaluate the role of social classes and groups other than the family. He sees the origins of social stability in those factors which promote harmony among *individuals*, i.e., in "interpersonal relationships," rather than in smoothly integrated *group* relationships. There can, though, be considerable interpersonal harmony within the several social classes—that is, class solidarity—even while the classes are engaged in a struggle which shakes the very foundations of the society.

Ours, says Kardiner, "is a highly unstable culture owing to the enormous anxieties under which each individual lives." The idealistic essence of Kardiner's position may be seen in this statement. Does Kardiner mean to suggest that economic crises, the recurrence of wars and imperialist adventures, or the imminence of fascist coups in our society—all manifestations of social instability—stem from anxieties which individuals possess? If so, Kardiner has the matter standing on its head. These anxieties do not evoke social instability; they themselves are a refraction of this instability through the prism of the individual personality.

Kardiner's idealism is made trans-

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parent by his emphasis on the role of science, to which he assigns a place as the basic determinant of social change since the Reformation. "From a psychological point of view," writes Kardiner, "the prime mover (of the change in values taking place during the Reformation) was not the economic factors but the growth and development of that method which we call scientific." Evidently still quiescent in the chrysalis of the Freudian notion of the origin of science —namely, that it is an outgrowth of the looking, feeling, and handling tendency originally directed toward the sexual object—Kardiner fails to weigh the social origins of modern science, taking no cognizance of the fact that the craftsmen's techniques in the early workshops were often used as a model for the development of the new scientific method.

The Psychological Frontiers of Society is of considerable importance. Kardiner has focused attention on the way the mode of production influences the development of child-rearing methods. He has successfully outlined the psychological functions (not origins) of religious and other ideologies, and finally he has arrived at, from a Freudian point of view, a concept of the relationship between ideology and the social substructure which is remarkably similar to the standpoint of historical materialism. Thus, he states, ". . . by writing a history of the change in religious ideologies from Job to Calvin, we are studying the projective screen only, leaving the social realities of which they are the expression unaccounted for." But like so many social scientists of our day, Kardiner flounders in his attempt to analyze current social change and its relationship to personality in large measure because of his unwillingness or inability to interpret social structure in terms of the classes composing it.

RICHARD GRAY.

"Neutral" History

THE COMPLETION OF INDEPENDENCE—1790-1830. HISTORY OF AMERICAN LIFE SERIES, VOL. IV, *by John Allen Krout and Dixon Ryan Fox. Macmillan. $4.*

THIS twelve-volume history of American life undertakes as its special contribution to put, as it were, "flesh and blood on the bare bones of historical fact." This, the fifth volume in the series, covers the 1790-1830 period. Its many-sided life is described in a refreshing and, as far as it goes, a satisfactory manner. The authors have drawn on a vast resource of original documents, standard histories and specialized studies.

But historical writing is a science as well as an art. Though from the standpoint of craftsmanship there is little room for criticism here, from the standpoint of history as a science (the very existence of which the authors may deny) this book shows little improvement over earlier histories. The first decade covered in this study was marked by the epic conflict of Jeffersonian Democracy against Federalism under Hamilton, while in Europe the great French Revolution was altering the course of development of all Western civilization. The 1800 election victory of Jefferson represented the triumph in America for democracy. The free, unhampered economic and cultural progress recorded in this book was made possible primarily because the obsolete political philosophy and the doctrine of economic monopoly and privilege represented by the Federalist Party was rejected by the American people.

Professors Krout and Fox overlook the struggle and the consequences of Jefferson's victory. Preferring to stand objective and neutral they view it, by and large, as a normal rivalry of two political parties. By virtually ignoring the conflict of rival political philosophies they, in common with most other historians of the period, avoid the difficult task of analyzing the substance and the economic and historic origins of this struggle. But actually the authors are not neutral. They accept Charles A. Beard's erroneous appraisal of it as a struggle between agrarianism and capitalism. And this false estimate creates perplexing contradictions.

If Jefferson did represent the "agrarian republic" and an alleged aversion to capitalist development how can one explain the phenomenal growth of manufacture and trade under the six Jeffersonian administrations and the absence of inflationary paper money supposedly loved by the agrarians? Their answer is a simple paraphrasing of Beard's "discovery" that the Jeffersonians adopted the Federalist program. Such reasoning reduces the Jeffersonian-Federalist conflict to an unprincipled rivalry for power and Jeffersonian democracy to a legend.

The danger of this shallowness and "neutrality" toward the past great political conflicts is best illustrated in Professor Beard's new "basic" history which leads him to a "neutral" attitude towards our present anti-fascist war. In real life neutrality towards a war of national survival is considered aid and comfort to the enemy. It is so too in the interpretation of past struggles. No amount of excellent descriptive material of the many-sided facets of our early history can overcome the neglect or faulty estimate of political conflicts that have determined the main direction of our national development.

RALPH BOWMAN.

B. Golden.

Novels of Rural Life

THE TOWNSMAN, *by John Sedges. John Day. $2.75.*
THE CABIN, *by Marquis W. Childs. Harpers. $2.50.*

MR. SEDGES' fine book is the story of a family of small folk who leave England for America shortly after the Civil War. The main thread concerns the family relationships and the character changes that accompany the changes of environment.

Jonathan, the eldest son, returns to England briefly in his last years to realize that America's largeness is now a part of him. He had wanted to teach school in England, and now he fights to keep his adopted home town respectable and schooled. First he opposes the cattle boom; then the oil fever; and he resigns as principal of the school he built rather than submit to a lowering of its standards.

Major issues of contemporary America enter Mr. Sedges' pages. Most impressive is his treatment of the subjection of women. On the Negro question he is a shade less satisfactory.

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Jonathan's best friends are a family of former slaves, salt of the earth; and he arranges to send their eldest son to France to study surgery. The son becomes a celebrated surgeon but accepts his benefactor's advice to stay abroad if he would continue to be happy; the idea of returning to serve his people does not appear in the story. Escape is the only solution indicated.

THE economics of farming and land speculation, which have throughout the nation's history aided and fought each other simultaneously, is brought out somewhat more clearly in Marquis Childs' *The Cabin* than in the treatment given them by Sedges. But the book falls short as a novel. Its theme, the effect on a family group of the death of a woman whose illness has been ignored, is too one-faceted for rounded-out characterization. Its interesting sidelights on American farm life and Midwest small towns are not enough to give it stature as fiction.

STANLEY ARCHER.

Brief Reviews

SOUTH AMERICA CALLED THEM, *by Victor Wolfgang von Hagen. Knopf. $3.75.*

THIS poorly organized book contains a great deal of sensuous description of the jungles, llanos and wild places of South America, and heroic paragraphs about the superhuman struggles of four men—La Condamine, Humboldt, Darwin and Spruce—to catalogue the botanical and geological lore of inaccessible regions. The mere recounting of the perils and hardships undergone by these intrepid explorers makes at times reading more thrilling than the most fanciful adventure story. However, they charge through their ordeals with nature in such a way that we see always the machete trail and almost never the three-dimensional human beings who wield the machetes. Quixoticism, rather than necessity, conditions their exploits. This literary method is part and parcel of the author's philosophical attitude; his facts are unorganized and often semi-investigated and *a priori.* Thus, "This Incaic civilization, nestling in the Andes, with its far-flung empire, was as close as man would ever get to Utopia" (!) Las Casas, the reformer Jesuit missionary who helped the Pope to found the institution of Negro slavery by modifying the structure of Indian servitude, is acclaimed as a mighty humanist! Metternich is one who hoped to "bring liberty and universal happiness" to Europe!

However, writers would do well to stock their heads with the wealth of imagery—cow trees, electric eels, penguins serenaded with St. Elmo's fire, etc.—to be found in such a book.

THE LONG JOURNEY, *by Johannes V. Jensen. Knopf. $3.*

THERE are better books still to be honored but the obviously politically motivated judges of the Swedish Academy chose to award the Nobel prize last year to this Danish work, first published in English translation twenty-two years ago and now republished to take advantage of the publicity. It is a trilogy of three historical fantasies: *Fire and Ice,* dealing with the human family at the point where it mastered its greatest tool, fire; *The Cimbrians,* dealing with the Northern tribes in one of their first invasion-migrations to the South; and *Christopher Columbus,* an account of the discovery and exploration of the Western Hemisphere which is made by implications, a Viking voyage. This vast project is handled with considerable skill; an enormous erudition is reduced to assimilable reading matter; there are flashes where the fantasy is heightened by eloquence and understanding into a vivid feeling of reality; and there are dull, longer passages of mere anthropological and historical digest. The history and anthropology are vitiated by a construction which gives the Norse peoples pervasive superiority; Columbus acquires a Norse ancestry and the myth of the white god of the Aztecs takes a Nordic turn. This, of course, should not be perverted into an accusation that Jensen is a Nazi; but it is an indication of the extent of the racial legend which, too seriously played with, can lead to such destructive insanity as Nazism.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES, *by Nevins and Commanger. Modern Library. 95c.*

THIS book appears to be published to take advantage, in competition with the Beard "basic" history, of the revived interest in our past. It is a great improvement over Beard's calculatingly anti-democratic book, whose last chapter was characterized in the New York *Tribune* as "an isolationist tract." However, it does not take us far beyond the level of public school histories. The concluding chapters, dealing with the Hoover depressions and the New Deal and the anti-fascist war, are clearcut and progressive but in appraising our past Professors Commanger and Nevins become conventional custodians of the

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archives which are to be kept from the profanation of analysis or criticism. Thus the eary struggles and rival views are slurred over; Jefferson's views were essential to the shaping of our nation but Hamilton's genius was no less essential; slavery was an evil but overmuch exaggerated by the North and passions kindled by the extremists on both sides prevented a peaceful solution and led to the Civil War. This type of impartial sugarcoating of the epic social conflicts in our history and charitable tolerance toward the foes of democracy and progress in our past prevents us from finding in the past the light that could help us distinguish between our friends and enemies today.

RUSSO-POLISH RELATIONS: *A Brief Summary of 600 Years of History. Edited by S. Konovalov. Princeton University. $1.50.*

UNDERTAKEN by Sir John Maynard, this survey was interrupted by his death and completed by S. Konovalov of the University of Birmingham. It is quite accurately described in the title. From its pages it becomes clear that the 600 years of Russo-Polish relations were mainly hostile, with Poland the aggressor in the earlier and Russia in the later centuries. The 1917 revolution offered an opportunity for a historic change in these relations which the Polish leaders unwisely rejected, preferring the resumption of an ancient imperial role. The opportunity then missed seems now to have been grasped and after six centuries of conflict we may look forward to harmony. This little book is no more than a general outline, but that outline is clearly drawn; being well documented besides it is a very useful handbook.

THE FIGHTING JEW, *by Ralph Nunberg. Foreword by Curt Riess. Creative Age Press. $2.50.*

THIS very readable book draws from history, all the way back to early Palestine, the incontrovertible evidence that the Jews have fought well and have their full share of military glory. Its swift journalistic narrative, which sometimes drops to Sunday supplement levels, does not militate against its reliability. A check revealed consistent accuracy. It falls, however, into occasional unsound cliches such as "the tradition of fighting was in their blood"; and it slurs over the fact that Jewish history includes some examples of that inglory of fighting men, aggression against neighbors—another indication that Jews were not different from other peoples.

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SIGHTS and SOUNDS

WHAT'S WRONG WITH THEATER?

By MARGARET WEBSTER

It seems to me that the theater has been drained of its best in all departments during the last few years because it has shrunk to the point where it no longer offers a livelihood to any but a tiny minority of the most successful. That, and not the attraction of the climate and swimming pools is what has taken the cream of theatrical talent to California, that and not the attraction of the microphone has lured many of our other actors into radio, the fact that there they are able to earn a living.

The theater must not be for New York only. We are all agreed upon that, but we all have a great deal of educational work to do about it. I would say this to my fellow Equity members. You have your minds wholly on New York. You think of your future solely in terms of New York, of who among the managers will see you in New York, and about what critics will say about you in New York. You do not value the educational, cultural, entertainment and employment value of theaters which are established outside of New York.

That is a vicious circle, because you are right in thinking that, at the present moment, your opportunities for the future lie in the hands of a few men in New York. Until we can break that down, we can do nothing. There is a much greater barrier against the breaking of it among ranks of theater people themselves than is generally realized. Actors think they have to be heavily compensated for making the sacrifice of going on the road. I have lectured and talked and spoken and had my productions played all over the country. The hungry audience, the real audience lies more outside New York than in it.

Second—and here I am going to get myself in trouble—the theater of the future must not be an amateur theater. Now, quickly for the benefit of any delegates from the National Theater Conference or from the University Theaters who may be present, let me say I, less than anybody, undervalue the work they have done in recent years. At times it has seemed as if they alone were keeping alive the classic plays, stimulating developments in regional playwrighting, experimenting with design and setting; but it is now time for the professional theater to reenter into the heritage which, after all, belongs to it and to repay a little of the debt which it owes the amateur theaters for keeping such a place as this alive during these years when professional theater has really been in the doldrums and has been limited almost entirely to Broadway.

Nevertheless, the people who should be doing that work are the people who have spent their lives, their time, their money learning their craft in the theater, whose ambition it is to do the best work of which they are capable and who are dependent on the theater for their means of earning a living. The theater of the future must be a hundred percent professional and it must offer artistic opportunity and sufficient money to live on to those whose devotion to it is great enough to sacrifice their opportunities of going to Hollywood, radio or something else. The expansion of the theater is not of a nature which must be thought of primarily in terms of profit. It may not be a completely subsidized theater. The problems of a subsidized theater in this country are far, far greater than in France or England or in any country. England is smaller than New York State. In America the profit motive has driven the theater to be the Broadway show shop which at the present moment it is, with the sale of motion picture rights practically the only hope the producer has of not coming out in the red.

That sounds as if I were blaming the producers for being a money-grubbing lot. I think it would be hard to find in the present century a producer of good theater who has died a rich man, but the mounting costs and the mounting pressures of producing in the theater are such as to make the task of the producer of so-called fine theater, almost insuperable. I know it took us, for instance, five years to do *Othello* and four years to do *The Tempest* because of the financial situation and nothing else and because we could only appeal for money to people whose prime motive was to make money.

Nevertheless, this theater of the future must not be a charity theater. Now, the WPA did wonderful work. It introduced to the theater audiences who had never seen theater before. It involved a great many fine individuals who have since made their mark in commercial fields. It did wonderful shows like the *One Third of a Nation* and the living newspaper shows, which were in themselves wonderful and exciting theater. But it was founded for the purpose of employing people and employing largely—let's face it—the people who could not gain employment from anybody else. It did not set out to do the best of which the theater as an art is capable.

I believe that only by doing the best of which it is capable will the theater found itself, base itself, anchor itself as an art which has an appeal to a public large enough to support it. I do not want to digress on the Donnelly-Green-Porterfield scheme. It seems to me there is a slight confusion which will need thrashing out in the future as to whether the proposed central fund, the National Theater Fund, should be supported by private or government funds. To the extent to which it is supported by government funds, there is no use in denying the fact that any organization to which Congress, as a body, allots funds is in danger of becoming a political football. Whenever Congress gives money, it reserves the right to examine, and it is necessary that it should. We must not, I think, imagine that any such fund, even if it is set up with a board consisting of people from the theater industry, will be immune from the usual scrutiny, the usual and sometimes very wild accusations such as that a member of the board is a Communist, or that such and such private interests have been brought to bear in order to get money for something else.

I am not afraid of a multiplicity of schemes. If the theater has health in it, every such successful scheme will feed every other such scheme. It is no secret that I myself am planning in the more

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or less immediate future the foundation of a full, professional, repertory theater. When I say what I have in mind would be a commercial venture, I mean I have sufficient faith in the capacity of the American audiences to support fine theater, finely done; that I do not believe any such theater would necessarily be dependent on subsidy. I believe in its ability to make itself self-supporting and on that belief, I shall stake the future of this theater which I and others are at this moment working to found.

THE scheme about which I am specifically to talk is that of a series of city centers, a little, perhaps, on the line of the New York City Center. Now, the New York City Center has given us in some sense a start—in all events, a lesson from which we can glean some valuable things and from which we can learn things to avoid. The New York City Center is by no means an ideal home for a city center. Its acoustics are frightful. Its lines of sight are worse. Its stage facilities are by no means ideal. But the city authorities have made possibly the best use of it they could in the circumstances. The worst feature from the city's point of view and from everybody's point of view of the operation is its subjection to taxation. The Metropolitan Opera House is not so subjected and it is a very significant feature that the amount of taxation which had to be paid during the last year by the New York City Center almost precisely corresponds to its deficit. In any future plans for city centers that situation should be avoided if possible.

Another great drawback to it is that no funds are available to spend on dramatic production. It was not apparently originally intended that funds should be so spent. Therefore, at the moment, the City Center is dependent on second runs, at low prices, of attractions which have already been produced commercially and successfully on Broadway. The low price feature is a magnificent one and the City Center is doing a very great work in catering to an audience a great part of which perhaps never reaches Broadway's theaters. It has become a glorified item on a sort of Leventhal Circuit. As far as drama is concerned, it has no initiating capacity of its own.

Now, there is another very interesting thing which emerges from last year's budget of the New York City Center. I quote from the last annual report presented by Mr. Newbold Morris. He reported that a profit of $639,083.72 has resulted from special theater attractions which included Helen Hayes in *Harriet*, Eva LaGallienne in *The Cherry Orchard*, the productions of *Little Women*, *You Can't Take It With You* with Fred Stone and various others. There were also profits from the ballet, from choral concerts, a couple of lectures given by Orson Welles, etc., but the City Center's own music ventures—the New York City Symphony and the New York City Opera Company—resulted in a deficit of $35,908.71.

So, there is money to be spent. It was spent on music and very wonderfully spent on music and I would say nothing to belittle it. Nevertheless, the drama, the second runs of Broadway's commercial shows, have been subsidizing good music at the City Center. I do not think that is a fair break. If there is money to be spent, it should be divided equally between the kind of attractions presented there.

The main reason, as it seems to me, for the inability of the City Center to branch out in drama despite the very greatest and most sincere wish to do so —this I know from personal experience —on the part of the Mayor and Mr. Morris, is that it cannot guarantee an actor or anybody else connected with the theater continuity of employment. People have approached me many times to ask why we can't have a Shakespearean festival at the City Center. Does it make sense that the city or that anybody else should say, "We want to do a festival production of *King Lear* around Thanksgiving?" Are the actors going to keep themselves free from now to November 14 and take a chance on getting a job again on November 28? And from the city's point of view, it is foolish to think of it spending how many thousands of dollars it costs to do a festival performance knowing the whole return has to be accumulated during the two weeks. All that might be overcome if a festival could make a round of dates in city centers and similar theaters already in existence at universities and colleges. It would be even better if other cities could send their companies to New York so each big city could see the products of each other's work, perhaps partly regional, but national in scope and application.

Bits.

THIS idea about city centers has endless possibilities. In every city it would differ both as to the kind of entertainment, the way it was presented and the way it was financed. I would suggest certain over-all principles for it. The program of any city center should make room for plays, ballet, music, opera, for all the forms of the arts. It should incorporate—and in some cases very likely house—existing orchestras. Any city center could serve as a center and show place. It might be possible to run festivals incorporating companies from the little theaters and university theaters in the region of the central focal point, the big city in question. The members of the little theaters could both learn from and get in touch with the local professional company and the other profesional companies that visit there, ending the almost total lack of contact between the professional and amateur theater that works to the detriment of both.

Any city center should include performances designed both to illustrate and elucidate school and college programs to bring alive on the stage the plays which they themselves are studying. Most importantly, it should present programs specifically designed for children. The children's theaters in the Soviet Union, when I was there about seven years ago, did not only do the finest educational work done in the country, but also presented, by any standard of comparison, some of the finest productions, some of the best acting and finest plays I have ever seen. I don't know how, if we totally ignore a children's audience in this country, we ever expect to have an adult audience when those children grow up.

Further, I think the city center should have its own building. Of the memorial auditoriums erected in this country, the greater part are monstrosities. Those at Trenton or at Worcester (I hear a horrible chuckle) are guaranteed to kill almost any dramatic production presented in them. They are predicated on amplifier systems and that is death to the living drama and something on which I wage eternal war. They forgot the dressing rooms. The auditorium runs straight back for five blocks, so it is impossible for anybody sitting over the state line to hear anything. If universities such as Madison and Iowa and even Stevens College in Missouri could get funds—some of them

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private and some of them state—to build and equip the most magnificent theaters, wonderfully designed, exquisitely equipped with lighting, I do not see why they should not be available for city center theaters.

I also feel a city center should primarily have its own resident company or companies. It would, I hope, develop its own playwrights and evolve its own style of playing and its own type of production. Some of them might want to bring to the fore new playwrights, radical leftist playwrights and concentrate on experimental theaters of production. That should be basically an outcome of the local demand and supply of talent.

One of the declines of the road which has not been touched on is the clogged channels of touring companies. The only facilities through which you can tour companies are those of the United Booking Office. All of us know how limiting that is. It takes a major battle to enable a production such as *Othello* or *The Cherry Orchard* to play in the wonderful university theater in Madison, which is only too willing and anxious to receive it, instead of in an awful rat trap called the "Davidson" owned by the UBO Circuit. A series of city center theaters would go far to break down what in my view is a damaging monopoly.

THERE is, as you may know, before the Senate at Albany a bill No. 1128 which was introduced a year ago and whose purpose is to devise ways and means for the promotion of music, drama and fine arts in the postwar period. It is our function to see that that bill does not die; to see that interest is kept alive and to see the drama is not made the Cinderella of the bill as it has so far been in New York at the City Center.

There is no question that the demand exists. We must find means to give it a voice and to drown out those who say culture has no part in our national postwar effort and there are many other things that have more urgent claims on our attention. We must make it realized that fine arts are as essential to the growth and progress of a nation as are its industries. We cannot hold our own before the rest of the world with dollars alone.

From an address, somewhat abridged, given by Miss Webster at the theater panel of the recent conference of the Independent Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions held in New York.

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"CONFLICT" (Warner Brothers, at the Strand) is a neat chess game, played dead-pan by the experts. Humphrey Bogart, as he leaves with his wife, Rose Hobart, to go to a party celebrating their fifth wedding anniversary, admits to her cold accusation that he has fallen in love with her younger sister. Their host, Sydney Greenstreet, a psychiatrist of sorts, senses the situation. As they drive home from the party the sister, Alexis Smith, is on the back seat and as Bogart watched her in the rear-view mirror he crashes into another car. The two women are unhurt; Bogart's leg is broken and as it heals he plans, and in the course of time executes, his wife's murder.

The rest of the moves are Greenstreet's. Bogart, of course, has made the traditional one mistake, and Greenstreet carries on from there, dogging Bogart with reminders of his wife, haunting him with phone calls, letters, perfume until he is driven to make that return trip to the scene of the crime to make sure she is really dead.

No one is miscast in *Conflict;* there are no silly lines or incredibilities or boners of motivation; yet it has a two-dimensional quality that is not dispelled by the straightforward direction and camera work. The plot is so tidy that Greenstreet's sweeping up of stray bits of explanation at the end is useful only to the most inattentive. Yet something's missing. What is it? Not *la* Bacall—there's no room for her in these mathematics.

What the film lacks is simply the genuine suspense generated by watching what happens to somebody you care about, someone who arouses in you some form of feeling. It's lacking not because the lines are laid down, we know about the murder, there is nothing up the sleeve: the great Peter Lorre film, *M,* did not depend on formal suspense either, but his moves toward inevitable entrapment held intense excitement. *Conflict,* as a psychological drama, simply does not qualify for the big leagues.

It has Bogart, though, with his customary sustained understatement, and Sydney Greenstreet, who does the best he can considering that his part is played largely offstage. Rose Hobart is convincingly murderable as the wife, and Alexis Smith adequate as the innocent cause of all the trouble.

BETTY MILLARD.

(NM's movie critic, Joseph Foster is in Hollywood.)

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Mark Van Doren, William Rose Benet, Alfred Kreymborg and Isidor Schneider have chosen

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